CROW'S ACCOUNT OF SINDH

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INTRODUCTION

At the closing of the eighteen century, the East India Company had already established its political domination in the Indian Sub-continent, but a number of the Indian states were still free and independnet and beyond the control of the Company. The Company apprehended that their unity might endanger the existence of the British power in India. It was customary for the neighbouring powers of Afghanistan and Persia to invade India and plunder its wealth and resources. They always posed a threat to a weak India. As a result of the Anglo-Russian rivalry, it was feared that Russia in alliance with Persia and Afghanistan would attempt to dismantle the Company's power in India.

The internal and external dangers made the Company vigilant to face these challenges. The Company's government in India remained well informed about political developments in Indian and neighbouring states. It used to send from time to time spies and agents, and political and commercial missions to assess the political situation and remained alert to face any conspiracy or invasion against it.

The great danger to the East India Company was Zaman Shah, the ruler of Afghanistan, who succeeded to the throne in 1793. Following the footsteps of his predecessors, he marched towards Lahore in 1796 with the intention to plunder and loot. The news created a consternation among the Marathas and the Company, but to their relief, the Shah returned to his country after receiving the news of his brother's rebellion. Since then the rumours of Zaman Shah's invasion circulated from time to

time, and thus, this had become a major concern to the Company how to defend its territories against any possible invasion of the Shah? Shah Zaman's intentions were further confirmed when in 1798 he wrote a letter to Wellesly, the Governor-General of India, expressing his determination to free Shah Alam, the Mughul emperor, from the Marathas. This indirectly indicated his intention to conquer India.

Under these circumstances, the government of the Company decided to open negotiations with the Mirs of Sind. In 1799, the G.G. of India Marquis Wellesly, asked Jonathan Duncan, the governor of Bomaby, to contact the government of Sind.

The rulers of Sind at that time were the Talpurs, who acknowledged the overlordship of Afghanistan and paid tribute to the Afghan king. They had no relations with the English, but they were in contact with the Indian states and were well aware of the British diplomacy and their expansionist policy in India. What happened in India, reached Sind through their envoys and agents.

The Mirs of Sind themselves were not fully secured and were afraid of Miyan Abd al-Nabi, the ousted Kalhora ruler who tried to assert his claim to the throne and might have invaded Sind with the help of Zaman Shah. Therefore, it was also in their interest to have friendly relations with the English in the hope to get their help against the Afghan invasion.

Duncan chose a Persian merchant Agha Abul Hasan as an envoy and sent him to the court of Sind for early negotiations and to assess the political situation and the attitude of the Mirs towards the British government. He was given two letters: one

for Mir Fateh Ali, and the other for Mir Ghulam Ali. In the letter of Mir Fateh Ali, it was requested to allow the Company to reopen a factory at Thatta and to permit an official mission to Sind to settle the terms and conditions. Wellesly approved the scheme and wrote to Duncan that the establishment of the factory was desirable "not so much with the view to commercial as to political advantages".

In March 1799, Agha Abul Hasan was received by the Mirs. He was assured by the rulers of Sind to get permission to open a factory at Thatta. On the other hand the Agha assured the Mirs that in case any invasion from Afghanistan, they would be defended by the English. A parwana by Mir Fateh Ali allowed the Company to establish a factory at Thatta in the same old building where the factory functioned during the Kalhora period. Four bighas of land was allotted for garden and the duty on the English goods was fixed. In the second parwana, the factory was granted all privileges which it allowed in the time of the Kalhoras.

The Agha completed his mission successfully and acquired all concessions to the full satisfaction of the Governor of Bombay. However, he made it clear to the British government that the Mirs allowed to open the factory on purely commercial basis and therefore, the Company must send such articles as sugar, candy, black pepper, articles of Chinaware, the English steel, and cloth.

The first commercial-cum-political mission arrived in Sind under Nathan Crow, a civil servant of the Bombay government. He was advised to observe the movements of Zaman Shah and win over the friendship of the Mirs. He first landed at Karachi in May 1799. He was not received by the

officials of the Mirs and the protocols reserved for ambassadors were not observed for him. Though, it was customary to pay high regard to the ambassador and care should be taken to provide him all kinds of facilities such as house, servants, food, security, and finance.

Crow on his arrival was allowed public audience and not private. It seems either the Mirs were suspicious of the real designs of the Company, or were afraid not to offend Zaman Shah, who was not in favour of the English presence in Sind. Crow, meanwhile tried to remove the suspicion of the Mirs by assuring them that the Company's real motive was commercial and not political. The Mirs, however, allowed him to open a factory at Thatta and not at Karachi.

In Karachi at that time Hindu merchants class was flourishing as there was no competition. It was not in their interest to see the establishment of an English factory which could adversely effect their trade and commerce. As the government of Sind received considerable amount of taxes from them, it wanted to favour them. Thus, the Hindu merchant under Daryanomal resisted any attempt to open the factory and pressurized the government to withhold the permission.

Crow, to counter the resistance of the Hindu merchants, tried to win over the favour of Mir Ghulam Ali. He was ready to support Crow if he provided him the services of a surgeon, supply him a large number of shells, and make arrangement to train his artillery men. Crow promised to fulfil his demands. He also presented some gifts to the Mirs. His efforts bore fruits and his request to open a factory at Karachi was granted.

On September 8, 1799, the Company's flag was hoisted at Thatta factory and on September 24, at Karachi.

Crow, after achieving his aim, went back to Bombay, for further instructions. He came back on his second mission in 1800. This time he was welcomed by the officials and a reception usually reserved for ambassador was accorded to him. He jubilantly reported: "I was met, about five Miles from the capital, by one of the confidential Khidmatghars at the Court and, on my alighting, the Prince sent his friendly congratulations, with a handsome Entertainment and the same Mehmandar abide with me, who had been attached to me on my first visit". He brought with him a surgeon, gunners and shells as he had promised to Mir Ghulam Ali.

However, the task to run the factory was not easy. The Hindu community of merchants was hostile and it continued to convince the government that the activities of the English mission were not commercial but political and posed a threat to the stability of the Mirs. Meanwhile, Crow, under the patronization of Mir Ghulam Ali succeeded in getting concessions. By a parwana, the Company was exempted from the fee of `Moajdari' Moree, and Foujdari'. By the second parwana, the Resident was granted right of entry and exit in the fort of Karachi.

In a short span of time, Crow succeeded in establishing two factories at Thatta and Karachi, and gained the friendship of the Mirs. He secretly posted his agents at Karachi and Sonmiani to watch the activities of the Afghan King. He also gathered information by contacting the travellers coming from Afghanistan and Persia. He developed friendly relations with Akhtar Khan, who was Zaman Shah's wakil at the court of the

Mirs. He moved in the circle of Sindhian nobility, met the princes from time to time, studied the politics of the court, and assessed the character of the Mirs. He realized that the Mirs were not happy with Zaman Shah and reluctantly paid tribute to him; thus, they could be incited to rebel or fight against the Afghan king with the assurance of military help.

Although, Crow successfully concealed his real motives, the Mirs became suspicious of his activities. They were warned by the friends and well-wishers not to allow the Britishers to have access to the port of Karachi. Besides this the pressure of Hindu merchants for closure of the factory increased. The smallness of the English trade did not bring any profit to the coffer of the Mirs. Above all, Zaman Shah was not happy of the English activities on the soil of Sind. He asked the Mirs to expel the English mission from their territories forthwith.

The government of Sind informed Crow on August 5, 1800 to close the factory at Karachi and immediately return to Thatta. He was not giving enough time to settle the affairs of the factory. From Thatta, he persuaded the Mirs through his friends to grant him audience. His request ws granted and he met with Fateh Ali, who assured him to consider his case favourably. But it appears that the pressure of the anti-British groups was immense and finally Crow was ordered in October 1800 to close the factory at Thatta and leave Sind. Crow, humiliated and insulted, left Thatta to Bombay via-Lahribandar. Though the expulsion of Crow was an insult to the British government, it was tolerated and no military action was taken against Sind.

Crow stayed in Sind for 17 months and familiarized himself within a short span of time with the political, social,

and economic condition of Sind. He minutely studied the past and the current history of Sind. During his stay he repeatedly visited the court and assessed the traits of the character of the Mirs and attempted to form a pro-British lobby at the court. He employed a number of agents and through them gathered valuable information regarding the country. He soon reached to the conclusion that the government of Sind was not powerful enough to check the passage of the British forces through Sind in case of an attack on Afghanistan.

His account of Sind, though written for the Bombay government, contains rich material on the history and culture of the 19th century Sind. After a brief history of Sind, he recorded his observations on the soil, climate, fruits, vegetables, animals, inhabitants, population, language, dress, and the strength of the army and the position of the fortification.

His correspondence with Duncan clearly shows hat the real motives of the mission were not commercial but political. The study of the correspondence reveals the underline policy and tactics of the British diplomacy in the Indian sub-continent. What was written by Crow to enlighten the authorities of the East India Company, has become now a part of history and its study provides us an opportunity to understand the real motives of the British Raj.

Although Kala Thairani, A. Durate, C.L. Marriwala, and R.A. Huttenback used the correspondence between Crow and Duncan in dealing with his political mission to Sind, the publication of his account of Sind and the Correspondence will provide scholars and readers rich material to understand the process of the British political domination in Sind.

CROW'S ACCOUNT OF THE COUNTRY OF SIND

A BRIEF HISTORY OF SIND

About the year 1450 of the Christian era, in the time of the government of the Sumah tribes in Sind, Syeed Meeran Mahomed Mehedy Joonpoory, a faquir or religious fanatic, blessed, in Mahomedan phrase, the country by his arrival, and illuminated the hearts and minds of the faithful who resorted in great numbers to his Holiness. One of the participators of the benefits of his wisdom and sanctity was Adam Shah, a Beloochee of the tribe of Kulhora and an Abasside. This worthy disciple succeeded him in his holy capacity when he departed for Mecca.

Adam Shah's followers multiplied in great numbers, and after his death his fame and influence were perpetuated through six generations of his lineal descendants, all regularly succeeded each other in the patriarchal chair.

At length, from the great accumulation of adherents and attendants, it became necessary for this body to find some means of maintenance more permanent and adquate than precarious and confined contributions, and towards this purpose they possessed themselves of lands from different Zemeendars, and began to cultivate for themselves. This took place about the latter end of the sixteenth century.

The Zemeendars, provoked by the usurpations, joined together and had recourse to arms; but in every endeavour to expel them, were defeated by the sturdy saints. They were

obliged, therefore, to carry their wrongs before the governors of the country. Governors, alarmed at the encroachments of this holy body, which rendered no account to the revenues, heartily took up the cause and sent some troops against them. These likewise were disgracefully repulsed in several attempts to dislodge them. Sind was at this time a province of the Moghul empire. The Governors reported, therefore, the state of the country to the Prince Moizudeen, whose residence was at Mooltan, and from his army a detachment arrived on this application, which, after an obstinate battle with the mendicants, routed them, and took Din Mahomed, the then head of the band, prisoner. He was brought to the presence, and thereby on royal command chopped to pieces with battle axes.

The faquirs all left their habitations, and flew to Kulat, where they raised Mean Nuseer Mahomed, the son of Din Mahomed, to the supremacy. When two or three years had passed, Mean Nuseer Mahomed went to the Prince at Mooltan, implored forgiveness of his father's contumacy and pity on his own miserable condition; and having obtained an amnesty from the royal mercy returned and settled himself and followers in their ancient habitations.

Nuseer Mahomed died about the year 1708, and his son, Mean Yar Mahomed, succeeded him. The young man resolved upon a view of the affairs if himself and adherents to repair to and lay his respects at the foot of the throne. This was a fortunate determination for him, for he was received with great compassion, and sent back with the rank of Punsuddu, the title of Khoda Eyar Khan and the purgunna of Roopa bestowed on him in jaghir. From this period the succeeding greatness of this holy stock may be dated. His popularity and prosperity

increased till his death, and his sons Mean Noor Mahomed and Mean Daood Khan struggled for his succession.

Mean Noor Mahomed's star prevailed, and in 1717 he obtained from Mahomed Shah the title of Khoda Eyar Khan and the province of Sewistan. Upon some cause or other it happened that Meer Ubdulla Khan, Burohy Chief of Kelat and Belochistan fell out with, and attacked him. A bloody battle ensued, in which Ubdulla Khan was killed, and the victory gave increased celebrity to Mean Noor Mahomed's name. A few years afterwards his fortune rose to the highest pinnacle of greatness cherished by the continuance of the favour of Mahomed Shah, who, upon a vacancy taking place appointed him to the government of the Soubah of Tatta. In the person of Mean Noor Mahomed, the authority which was at first a usurpation of itinerants, became legitimated, and the descendants of mendicants elevated to the governors of Sind. The stock, however, was held in holy veneration; religious prejudice, therefore, combined with worldly power to awe the public mind and many features of the country at the present day testify to the lasting impression of this double influence.

The year succeeding Mean Noor Mahomed's accession to the government of Tatta, which was 1739, the approach of Nadir Shah threatened Sind. From the time of this monarch's mounting the throne of Persia to his investing of Cundahar Mean Noor Mahomed had been unremittingly assiduous in rendering his respects and obedience by letter; but hearing of Nadir Shah's rapid conquest of India and Mahomed Shah's cession of all the countries to the west of the river Attock, from the Dairajats, Shikarpoor, Bukkur, Sewistan, Nusseerpoor, and the Soubah to the sea, he conceived great dread and distrust; and, notwithstanding the kindest assurances

of honour and protection with which Nadir Shah encouraged him, he refused allegiance and fled to the fortress of Amarkote. Thither the King pursued him and took him prisoner. He was confined for some time, at last Nadir Shah listened to his penitence and submission, released him on his paying a fine of one crore of rupees in specie and goods, restored him to the government of Sind, with the title of Shah Kooly Khan. As hostages for his good behaviour and payment of a tribute of about twenty lacks of rupees annually, the King on leaving the country, took with him three of his sons, namely Moorad Eali Khan, Uttar Khan and Gholam Shah Khan.

After Nadir Shah's departure, Mean Noor Mahomed wagged war against one Kangy who was Governor of Cutch, on the part of the Rajah of Lukput, and who had been guilty of some insolence and depredations. He besieged him in a strong fort he possessed on the frontier, reduced it and took him prisoner. He next called to account Rajah Ijmal, the Governor of Lahory, now called Daraja Bunder, who previously to the entrance of Nadir Shah into the country, had sent some armed boats up the Indus as high as Nusseerpoor, and plundered the town. Mean Noor Mahomed, not having had leisure to retaliate this injury before, now sent a force with his son Khodadad Khan, who in a short time took Daraja fort; and in a succeeding battle the Rana was killed, and his whole territory taken possession of by Noor Mahomed's troops.

About the year 1750, Nadir Shah was assasinated and the three sons of Mean Noor Mahomed, who has been taken away, as hostages, availed themselves of the event to return to their father's court.

At this period the empire of the Durannees was founded by Ahmad Khan Seedozy, originally a Pathan Chief of consequence, who had embraced the service of Nadir Shah, and was one of the officers afterwards of his presence. Taking advantage of the king's Health, and his possession of a principal part of the royal treasure, he hastened to Candahar, and proclaimed himself without opposition. The fort of Candahar having been almost demolished by Nadir Shah, Ahmed Khan built a new one about two miles distance, and gave it the name, which it now bears, of "Ahmed Shahy". He wrote a kind letter to Mean Noor Mahomed, and departed on his expedition against Hindoostan. Several severe engagements took place between his troops and those of Delhi. Kummur-ud-Deen Khan, Mahomed Shah's Prime Vazier at last fell; nevertheless the Pathan army was discomfited, and Ahmed Shah obliged to return to his new capital. He set himself vigorously to prepare for another invasion, and again led his troops against India. In this second enterprise, after repeated battles in the vicinity of Lahore, Moun-ud-Deen Khan, son of Kummur-ud-Deen Khan, and Kor Ummul, the Dewan, he succeeded in his conquest of the empire. Whilst he was employed in this undertaking, Mean Noor Mahomed's discharge of his tribute and respect was irregular and capricious. Relieved from the affairs of Hindoostan, Ahmed Shah turned his steps towards Sind, and encamped in Sewistan. Mean Noor Mahomed fled at his approach to the borders of the desert, where he fell sick and died.

Upon this event, the chiefs of Sind swore fealty to his eldest son, Moorad Eab Khan, and joined to his report of his father's death their solicitations to Ahmed Shah, that the government of Sind might be conferred on him. Ahmed Shah honoured their memorial with compliance, and having

appointed Moorad Eab Khan to succeed his father Mean Noor Mahomed, with the title of Shah Nuwaz Khan, returned to Cundahar.

Moorad Eab Khan, during his administration, attacked Jam Hajajee, chief of the district, and the Bunder of Kukralla, called likewise Shah Bunder, and after many bloody conflicts got complete possession of his territory, which he then allowed him to ransom. A few years had elapsed when about 1756, the nobles and officers of the Court disgusted on many accounts with Moorad Eab Khan's government, deposed and confined him, and raised his brother, Gholam Shah Khan, to the musnud of Sind, Uttar Khan, who was the next in age, was at this time at the Court of Candahar, and hearing with envy of his younger brother's elevation, exerted himself with several of the King's principal officers, and procured a sunnud in his own name, with which he made his appearance in Sind, and the chiefs and grandees of the country, not choosing to dispute the authority of the King's farman, resorted to his person, while Gholam Shah Khan, after a reign of a few months only, finding himself deserted, fled to Joodpoor.

Uttar Khan had occupied the musnud not more than twelve months, when Gholam Shah Khan fell upon him in a rapid and unexpected manner with a body of troops, which by different means he had contrived to raise, when a fierce and obstinate struggle took place, which terminated in the flight of Uttar Khan at Ahmed Shahy. Here he laid his complaint before the throne and the King, to support an authority he had himself bestowed, sent him back with an army under the command of an Afghan General Hajy Utay Khan, upon whose arrival Gholam Shah Khan found himself again to fly. He took refuge this time with Jam Hajajy at Kukralla, and with much

submission and many professions of gratitude obtained his permission and assistance to build a small fort in a corner of the purgunnah in which he secured himself and called it Cutch.

After Hajy Utay Khan's arrival and Uttar Khan's restoration, the chiefs of Sind and the heads of the Abassy tribe, taking the state of affairs into consideration, resolved it most eligible to divide the country. Two thirds they allotted to Uttar Khan and one third to Gholam Shah Khan.

A few months only had expired after this arrangement and the return of King's troops when Gholam Shah Khan again fell upon his brother Uttar Khan, who unable to oppose him, fled to Buhadur Khan Davod Potra, the chief of tract of country on the east side of the Indus, where it divides into the Attock and Setledge, and requested his protection and aid. Bahadur Khan took a lively interest in his distress, and made preparations to assist him in recovering his government; but Gholam Shah did not allow much time for maturity of their plans, for he very soon appeared in person in Buhadur Khan's country, gave battle to him, slew him, and obliged his brother Uttar Khan to disappear.

Gholam Shah Khan then returnd to Sind and tranquilly seated himself in the government of the whole country. Fortune about the same time crowned his policy, as well as his prowess, with success; for by his judicious management of Court he obtained from Ahmed Shah a confirmation of himself in the government, with the title of Shah Wurdy Khan Huzuban Jung Sum Sam-ud-Dowla Bahadur. This must have been about the time of the establishment of the Hon'ble Company's factories at Tatta and Shah Bunder, which was the year 1758. Gholam Shah, now finding himself firmly seated, gave his

attention to the state of the country. His first measure of importance was against the Khosa tribes of Sewistan, which had been very refractory under his brother, and he at length mingled them with dust. He despatched from existence his nephews, the sons of his eldest brother, in whom he had discovered some aspiring views threatening to his own personal safety. Upon some grounds, not distinctly known, he wrested from his friend and protector, Jan Hajajee, the whole district of Kukralla, which a short time before had afforded him an asylum, and incorporated it with his own dominions. As Buha Dil Khan, the successor of Buhadur Khan, Davod Potra, still indulged much presumption on the strength of his numbers, and encouraged in Uttar Khan the hope of regaining his country, Gholam Shah resolved to punished him. He therefore carried a force, a second time, into his country, gave him two or three humiliating defeats and afterwards made peace with him. He then returned to Sind and laid the foundation of the fort of Hyderabad.

Uttar Khan, finding nothing left for him, but submission, flung himself upon his brother's mercy and liberality. Gholam Shah received him with respect and affection, and made an honourable and ample provision for his subsistence by the exclusive grant of several Jaghirs. After this union with his brother, Gholam Shah formed an expedition against Cutch. Ray Lukput, the Chief of that country, not feeling himself equal to resist such a power, fortified himself in Booj, and offered one of his daughters in marriage to Gholam Shah, who accepted the connexion and upon it concluded a peace. Gholam Shah did not long survive his return to Hyderabad.

Upon his demise, which was in 1771 or about that period, the chiefs and nobles of the country acknowledged his eldest

son, Sirufraz Khan; and his succession was confirmed by a farman from the King with the title of Sir Bulund Khan. His government opened with an expedition against Cutch. After his return, he put to death Meer Byram Khan, a chief of the tribe of Talpoories, which had long held the principal offices of state, with his son likewise Meer Subedar Khan. Whether this violent measure was a punishment of some treachery Sirufraz Khan had detected or the result merely of jealousy and suspicion, is a point of doubt, but it is certain that the Talpoories had assumed a very high control in the affairs of the Durbar. Be it as it may, the act gave great disgust to the people at large, by whom Meer Byram Khan was much respected and beloved, and was the cause of those revolutions which finally displaced the Kulhoras and elevated the Talpoories to the government of Sind, which they now retain.

Under Sirufraz Khan, the Hon'ble Company's factories were disturbed in the independence of their trade, and their respect and tranquility so much threatened, that the Hon'able the President and Council of Bombay determined in 1775 to withdraw them, which was accordingly done.

Sirufraz Khan's reign continued about five years when the chiefs of the Belochee tribes and officers of the Court, dissatisfied with his character and conduct united, seized, and confined him, and put his brother, Mean Mahomed Khan, upon the musnud.

In the course of a few months his incapacity became so evident that they were obliged to select a person better qualified to fill the station, and their choice fell after much deliberation on Sadiq Aly Khan, a nephew of Gholam Shah.

One year's experience proved their judgment had been again deceived and they therefore deposed him, and elevated to the government Gholam Nubee Khan, a son of Mean Noor Mahomed Khan and a brother of Gholam Shah Khan. This might be in the year 1778, at which period Meer Bijar Khan, a son of Meer Byram Khan, who at the time of his father's being put to death, as above mentioned, was absent on a pilgrimage to Mecca, arrived at Muscat. Gholam Nubee Khan apprehensive of his return to head the Talpoory tribe employed every means in his power with the Muscat government to have him despatched or delivered up; but his endeavours to corrupt the first virtue of the Arab character were in vain. The laws of hospitality were sacredly observed to Meer Bijar Khan, and something more it is said than mere protection was afforded him. He soon after appeared in Sind, and was immediately joined by the Talpoorees who collected from all quarters. Gholam Nubee Khan, equally alert, mustered his tribe and his adherents, and attacked the Talpoorees without loss of time, but was slain in the conflict.

Meer Bijar Khan, victorious and triumphant, directed his march to the fort of Hyderabad, in which Meer Ubdul Nubee Khan, the brother of Mean Gholam Nubee Khan, hearing of the latter's death, had blockaded himself, and put to death Uttar Khan, Sirufraz Khan, and Meer Mahomed Khan, who have all made their transit on this page, with others, whose pretentions, he thought, might stand between him and the opening he now saw to his own ambition. In this effusion of blood, Sirufraz Khan is least to be regretted, as his cruelty in killing Meer Byram Khan had raised the vengeance of his son and his tribe, and provoked the calamity of civil war. Meer Bijar Khan on his arrival before the fort, finding it impregnable, sent many messages, replete with assurances of faith, attachment and

submission; upon the strength of which, Ubdul Nubee Khan, with more candour perhaps than prudence, came out and was received by Meer Bijar Khan with a sincerity and sacred adherence to his engagements seldom observed by Asiatics, when interest offers much temptation to infringement. He saluted Meer Ubdul Nubee Khan with every honour and respect, took the first oath of allegiance to him, and seated him on the musnud of his ancestor. Here it might have been hoped the wounds of the two tribes were effectually healed, for the former position of both was renewed, the Kulhoras in the government of Sind, and the Talpoorees the first in the service of the state, a brother of Gholam Shah on the throne, and a son of Meer Byram Khan on its right hand. About two years expired, when Izzut Ear Khan, a nephew of Mean Ubdul Nubee Khan, who was among the attendants of the court of Candahar, procured for himself a sunnud from the King and troops to carry it into effect, with both of which he arrived at Shikarpoor, on his way to Sind. Thither Abdul Nubee Khan, with Meer Bijar Khan, and other chiefs, marched to oppose him, and a desperate engagement ensued, in which Mean Abdul Nubee Khan was victorious, and Izzut Ear Khan put to flight. The downfall of the Abassy or Kulhora tribe would seem to have been decreed above, for Mean Abdul Nubee Khan was prompted in some unintelligible manner to seek the destruction of Meer Bijar Khan. He essayed numerous modes in vain, but at last effected his purpose by the co-operation of his friend, Maharaja Bejsing, Rajah of Joodhpoor. From him two assasins were sent as messengers on businees to meet Meer Bijar Khan, who availing themselves of the pretence of secret communication to gain a nearer approach, plunged their daggers into his breast, and he instantly expired. On this event the Talpoorees assembled in great hurry and great numbers in

the fort of Shahdadpoor, beyond Hyderabad, and thence proceeded to the attack of the latter place.

Mean Abdul Nubee, not thinking himself able to encounter them, fled over the mountains of Belochistan to Kulat, where he flung himself on the protection of Mahomed Nusseer Khan Burohy, and solicited his aid. After Mean Ubdul Nubee's flight from Hyderabad, the son of Meer Bijar Khan, by name Abdulla Khan, with Meer Futteh Khan, nephew by the sister's side of Meer Byram Khan, deceased, and other chiefs, raised the standard of sovereignty in Sind.

About a year after, Mahomed Nuseer Khan, the chief of Kulat, sent Meer Zohruk, his nephew, with a body of experienced troops along with Mean Ubdul Nubee Khan in order to reinstate him in his government. The whole tribe of Talpoorees, on this occasion, hastened to the standard of Meer Ubdulla Khan, and repaired to the field; the two armies met and fought with the greatest fury, when Meer Zohruk was laid upon the earth. Mean Ubdul Nubee fled to Joodhpoor, and Meer Ubdulla Khan returned triumphant to Hyderabad. Mean Ubdul Nubee found on his arrival at Joodhpoor that the friendship of Maharaja Bej Sing was firm and unimpaired, and therefore solicited his aid. The Rajah kept Ubdul Nubee with him and sent the flower of his troops to attack the Talpoorees. Meer Ubdulla Khan marched with his fullest force to meet them. Several days passed in cannonade and musquetry, then they came to charge with the sword, which is the test of bravery. The Joodhpoor troops, after effort, found themselves unable to maintain the contest, and took to flight. Mean Ubdul Nubee perceiving no hope in the present disappointed state of his affairs but from the King, repaired to his camp, and through the medium of his courties he pressed his pitiable

condition, till at last the King was induced to take up his cause, and to order a formidable body of troops with a detachment of Burohys to be got ready under the command of Mudud Khan Sirdar and Fatteh Mahomed Khan, general of Nuseer Khan's detachment of Burohys. Upon the arrival of Mudud Khan in Sind, Meer Ubdulla Khan took refuge in the fortress of Amerkot, for a short time, till, not thinking himself safe there against such a force, he retreated still further. Mudud Khan, thinking it advisable for the general peace of the country, wrote to him and to the other elders of the Talpoory tribe, assuring them on the part of the King of forgiveness for the past, and inviting them to return to their duty and allegiance. The proposal was received with acquiescence and confidence, and according to agreement, after the departure of Mudad Khan, Meer Ubdulla Khan and his tribe returned and selected Mean Ubdul Nubee as their lawful ruler and took their places in the rank of the Court.

Civil discord thus composed, and Mean Ubdul Nubee again tranquilly seated on the musnud of his ancestors, his former misfortunes should have taught him not to provoke new; but carried away by revenge and blinded by fatality, he perversely and unjustly put Meer Ubdulla Khan to death, three days after his renewing his allegiance.

The Talpoorees on this event assembled at Oadubpoor, and having elected Meer Futteh Aly Khan, son of Meer Subedar Khan, and grandson of Meer Byram Khan, and the present Prince of the country, to be their leader, repaired in great numbers and force to the attack of Mean Ubdul Nubee Khan; over whom they at length by bravery and perseverance, prevailed and obliged him to fly a second time to the King while Meer Futteh Aly Khan made his triumphal entry into

Hyderabad. Upon a survey of his own situation, Meer Futteh Aly Khan was desirous of removing every objct, which might immediately or eventaully distrub his peace and permanence, a disposition which was observed with alarm by his nephew Meer Sohrab Khan. The young man, therefore, upon a pretext of hunting got out of the fort of Hyderabad, spurred his horse till he brought him to Lohory town, his present desert capital, where he fixed himself and collected his adherents. In the same manner Meer Toorah, the son of Meer Futteh Khan, apprehensive of designs against him, fled privately by night, and by bye-paths, till after two days he reached Budbun, and there settled. This residence is now Shah Bunder. Having both of them completely possessed themselves of these different places and the adjacent country, they remitted a part of the revenue to the King, Timur Shah, by their own agents and renounced altogether the authority of Meer Futteh Aly Khan.

In the meantime, Abdul Nubee Khan was incessantly pressing his wrongs and distress on the ear of Majesty, till the royal compassion was again moved, and a body of troops with detachment of Burohys, the whole under the command of Ahmed Khan, a Patan noble, was ordered to march with Ubdul Nubee Khan, and restore to him the government of Sind. The partisans of Abdul Nubee Khan joined him with a large force on his entering the country. Meer Futteh Aly Khan, as soon as he heard of their arrival, took the field and procrastinated extremities for four months, till he succeeded in drawing off the Afghans and Burohys, and then he fell upon Ubdul Nubee Khan and his part of his army, and after great slaughter drove him to take refuge in Sewistan. Ahmed Khan returned to Candahar, and was marked with great opprobrium for the disgrace he had suffered to attach to the Imperial army. Zemaun Shah had by this time ascended the throne and

beginning to raise his mind to enterprise determined as the tribute of Sind had been very irregularly rendered by Meer Futteh Aly Khan, Meer Sohrab Khan, and Meer Tarrah Khan, to pay a visit to that country and advanced on this purpose as far as Mooltan. The three above-mentioned Chiefs, completely terrified at the King's approach, fled from their capitals towards the desert and sent the most penitential and submissive excuses and promises, which through the friendly and zealous intercession of Noor Mahomed Khan, titled Umeenul Mulk, the Vazier, upon whose protection they had thrown themselves, were received and the King prevailed upon to forgive the past and pursue them for their offences no further, the Vazier himself discharging some arrears, and pledging himself for the punctuality of the tribute in future. Through the same friendly medium, Meer Futteh Aly Khan afterwards got a sunnud, confirming him in his government.

When foreign attack no longer threatened, Meer Sohrab Khan, with a majority of the Talpoory and other chiefs, proposed that the son of Meer Ubdulla Khan, Meer Gholam Hossain Khan, who was now arrived at years of discretion, should assume the government of Sind, to which by direct descendancy, he was heir, and in consideration of whose minority only, it had, it was urged, been entrusted to Meer Futteh Aly Khan. To this argument Meer Futteh Aly Khan replied by putting his foot in the stirrup. Both parties collected their forces, and three whole days, were the ranks drawn out on either side in battle array. In this intestine contention of the Talpoory tribe, relations were divided on the different sides, sons threatened fathers, and brothers forgot their birth; the olders of the tribe wisely held out the mischief of such an unnatural butchery; and the women flung themselves between their swords to prevent it. Both parties were persuaded. Meer

Gholam Hossain Khan acknowledged the sovereignty, and accepted the protection under which he now is, of Meer Futteh Aly Khan and he acknowledged the independnce and perpetuity of the distinct possessions of Meer Sohrab Khan and Meer Tarrah Khan. This accommodation perfected, Meer Futteh Aly Khan made a handsome provision in Jagirs for three brothers he had, Meer Gholam Aly Khan, Meer Kurim Aly Khan, and Meer Moôrad Aly Khan, according to their seniority, and in order to preserve them in an harmonious support of the general interest of the family, for which they had all labour in the field, and Meer Gholam Aly Khan with signal zeal and affect, he admitted them likewise to a participation of his power, and placed their musnuds on each side of his own, and order which is preserved to the present day.

Meer Futteh Aly Khan instituted an early and rigorous search after the treasures and property of the Kulhoras, wherever dispersed and concealed, and a cruel persecution of the old adherents and servants of that tribe ensued. Some of the other tribes of Sind, who were formidable from their superior numbers or odious for their attachment to the old government, were reduced by every effort of stratagem and intrigue to embroil them with each other, to an insignificance or absolute dependence on the Durbar. The internal peace of the country provided for Meer Futteh Aly Khan turned his attention to the recovery of two places, Currachee and Amarkote, which were originally included in the territory of Sind, but were alienated by Mean Ubdul Nabee, the first to Meer Nuseer Mahomed, governor of Kulat, and the second to Maharaja Bejsing, Rajah of Joodhpoor, and for the assistance they had lent him at different times, as before related. In one attack upon Currachee, made by Meer Futteh Aly Khan, they were repulsed, but in a succeeding one there was no resistance

made, owing to some negotiation which had been made by Meer Futteh Aly Khan either at Kulat or at Candahar. He took possession of Currachee about the year 1792. His attempts to take Amarkote, by surprise have been many but uniformaly unsuccessful, and some of them indeed dangerous to himself personally.

Meer Futteh Aly Khan is at present the ostensible head, but not the absolute guide of the government of Sind. The participation of rank and power, to which he so generously admitted his brothers, has overthrown the independence of his own authority, distracted his councils, and threatens to divide the unity of the state. By the great conciliation and forbearance of the prince, with the tenderness and good sense of the mother, a character superior in intelligence to her sons, who, in all difficult and delicate cases, interferes to decide their plans and adjust their disputes, serious rupture has been hitherto obviated. The second brother, Meer Gholam Aly Khan, a man of great energy and ambition, impatience, and determination, and if he does not meditate the supplanting of his brother, which it is strongly to be suspected he does, is evidently resolved to succeed him, should he be the survivor this last he may be able perhaps to effect without a struggle, for the prince has no male children. He entrenches now so far upon the prerogative of supremacy that he holds a private court of nearly the same authority, order and display as that of the Prince, and in this all business must originate or find sanction to be crowned with success; and not satisfied with establishing this weight at home, he has caused his consequence to be so much acknowledged at Candahar, that whenever the King confers a Khelat on the prince it is accompanied by another of one gradation less in distinction for Meer Gholam Aly Khan. The two younger brothers who are now advancing in maturity

of years, the younger being atleast five and twenty, and there is a difference of about five years in each from the one next, are increasing likewise in the presumption of their views. They have with their separate lands, separate clients and jurisdiction, and smaller levees at their own apartments, and are studious of extending their patronage and augmenting their adherents. A sense of interest, with the mildness of the Prince and solidity of the mother as before observed may preserve the harmony of the family sometime longer, but the eagerness of the younger brothers (alluding particularly to Meer Gholam Aly Khan) in their pursuit of their distinct objects is such as daily to risk its interruption. Hitherto thy have all preserved a real or apparent concord which has made them formidable to their enemies and gained them the appellation of the Char-Eayer or four Caliphs. The subordinate figures in the government are a general and a physician; the first Mean Fukeera, a Sindian, a great favourite with the prince, and the other, Meer Ibrahim Shah, a Persian Syud, much respected by him, and both admitted to a large share of his confidence, but regarded with jealousy by the other brothers. The infancy of the four princes was passed in great obscurity, and even poverty, under the latter part of the reign of the Kulhoras, who were not, as may be supposed from the dissentions which have been related friendly to the tribe. The present rulers of Sind have been seen, it is said, tending cattle in its jungles, and cooking their own meals. Certain it is, that their understands, dispositions and manners, betray great barbarity of education and that since their advancement to an affluent sphere, they have derived little cultivation from literature or society. Their ideas extend nor further beyond the mountains and desert which bound their country than to events at Candahar, and their highest reach of their wisdom and policy is by watching the motions of the King, and bribing his officers to gain delay or remission in their payment of the tribute; their

solicitude at home is to guard their personal safety and enrich themselves individually, and all the rest of their occupation consists in self gratification, without a single glance at the condition of the people or the real interests of the country. It may easily be supposed that such characters are not very popular, and their tyranny and rapacity make their government daily more and more detested. By vigilance and management, however, they keep the tribes in check and subjection, which prevents the possibility of conspiracy, and are themselves always prepared against insurrection. Every month they move above the country on hunting excursions in different directions which they never regulate by routines or previous announcement, so that the uncertainty may keep all parts in awe. They are, on hunting excursions, attended by horse and foot, to the number sometimes of ten thousand men; in Durbar the Prince and his brothers sit each with his sabre girt and his shield slung and a relief of saddled steeds is always kept up for any emergency. The four brothers in general eat together, and instead of retiring at night to different apartments, invariably sleep in the same room with arms by their side, and without any lights but at the doorway. Their precautions are altogether so great as to bid defiance to internal treachery or confederacies; but Ubdul Nubee Kalora was to appear again in the country with a moderate force, it would most probably be soon augmented by the disaffected to the present government to a degree that would overturn it, without scarcely an effort.

BOUNDARIES

The boundaries of Sind, according to its present extent under the three chiefships of Meer Futteh Aly Khan, Meer Sohrab Khan and Meer Tarrah Khan, are to the northward, on the west side of the river, Noushera, a town situated about thirty miles above Sukkur, and a few below Shikarpur, (both which places, with the fort of Bukur are in the hands of the King) and on the east side of the river Obavera a town a little above Bibigundy Chock, close to the southern frontier of Buhadur Khan, Dawood Patra's territory; on the east the Registan or Sandy Desert; on the west, the mountains of Belochistan and Mekran; and on the south, the Indian Ocean. Of the space thus described Meer Sohrab Khan possessed all the country on the east of the Indus included between the Parallel of Noshur and the town of Obavera to the borders of the Desert. Meer Tarrah Khan's partition is in the eastern part of the Delta, commencing on the South East of Tatta and comprehending Shah Bunder and the Nulla Sunkra down to the sea. The celebrated river, which Europeans denominate the Indus is called by the Hindoos Sindhu, and gives its name to the country though the part which lies on the west side from Hallyghandhe to the sea is in distinction termed Lar.

FERTILITY

The fertility of the country, when it is exposed to the inundation, is as great as that of Egypt, and subject to less variety and uncertainty; the waters being regular in their return, departure, and quantity, beginning to rise about the latter end of April, and to subside early in September. The source of this annual blessing is supposed by some to be the melting of snow on the mountians of the northern regions, but is more generally believed to be the falling of rain. There is one circumstance observable and rather in favour of the former conjecture which is a fluctuation in the rise of the water, and when arrived at its highest point a steadiness in its retreat. The breadth of the swell varies according to the nature of the country through which the river passes; in general, I believe, it is felt at least five miles from the banks on either side, and in many parts much more, particularly in the Delta, where the land is flat and the intersections of the stream many, and in Sewistan likewise where the country is of the same description and the water courted and retained by more industry and art than is practised in any other parts. Those parts of the country of Sind, which lie out of the reach of the benefits of the inundation depend for their fertility upon the firmament which is as precarious as the river is constant. Situated in a manner at the extremity of the influence of the monsoon that prevails in India, Sind sometimes partakes and sometimes is deprived of the advantage of periodical rain. In the parts far removed from the river, grain is less cultivated, but they produce a very superior kind of grass and various herbage for the pasturage of horses, camels and horned cattle, of which latter the number is so great that the poorest people possess enough for the support of themselves and families; but in years of drought which often

occur two or three in succession, the mortality amongst these animals is very great and the distress of the lower part of the inhabitants proportionately severe.

CLIMATE

The climate of Sind is very unhealthy in all those parts affected by the inundation, and therefore, particularly so in the Delta and its vicinity after the waters retire and putrefaction of the mud and partial stagnation begins. There are few diseases in the catalogue of human misfortune, which are not to be found amongst the natives, but the most prevailing are agues, fever, asthmas, consumptions, rheumatism, all the consequence of humidity and impurity of atmosphere. The heat in Sind in the summer months is as moderate near the sea, as in most places of the same latitude in India, but increases to an excessive degree as you advance to the northward. The samiels or hot wind prevails for two months in the year with such force in Sewistan as to make the road to Candahar impracticable during the day and almost fatal to such travellers as may be encamped. The winters are severe in Sind but not quite in proportion as the summers are sultry.

SOIL

The soil of the country watered by the river is in general of rich clay but in many parts loose and sandy. It requires little labour of cultivation near the banks of the Indus, for as the inundation retires and while the mud is yet soft, the husbandman scatters the grain and it sows itself. The land approaching the hills, particularly below Hyderabad, is rocky and stony but many parts of it are arable. Great quantities of salt are collected on the shore about Currachee and other places near the sea, and iron ore is found in abundance near Tatta. There are many saltpetre grounds in different parts of the country, but not in the Delta, particularly about Shah Bunder and Aurangabandar. Those in the vicinity of Tatta are exhausted, and the nearest are at Sacra, a purgunnah about thirty miles distant. The Hon'ble Company had extensive works under their former establishment at Shah Bunder for purifying and crystallizing this article which is now imported in Bombay at a much cheaper rate from Bengal. The most extraordinary production of Sind is alkali found in the southern part of Meer Sohrab!s territory of extensive use in chemical processes and exported to India every year in great abundance.

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

Of fruits and vegetables except mangoes and watermelons there is great scarcity.. A few conconut trees are to be found in the neighbourhood of Currachee and a spurious kind of date above Hyderabad. Wood for fuel is plentiful, but there is no timber for building, except what is brought from Malabar; of this all dingees and large boats are constructed and the pillars and beams of the house are formed.

RIVER INDUS

The Indus, as a river, has few merits except its periodical swell its stream is foul and muddy and so full of shoals and shifting sands that flat-bottomed boats are only safe, and scarcely any other are used; its course is excessively crokked and towards the sea very inconstant. By a strange turn that the river has taken within these five and twenty years just above Tatta, the city is flung out of the angle of the inferior delta in which it formerly stood on the main land towards the hills of Belochistan. By another change in the course of the river Shah Bunder is left dry and the Lahory Bunder branch so much more favoured by the stream that is perfectly fresh now at a point where a few years ago it was salt even at low water. This point is near the Bunder of Lahory. Marks of the caprice of the river abound in the lower country, the most striking of which are, the bed of a large stream now perfectly dry, about five miles from Currachee, and about five miles further, at a place called Guissary, a creek which opens from the sea, and is still navigable for atleast fifty miles, when it shallows and leaves only a dry channel, where it is said to have been formerly met by the river from the traces still evident; and the fact is confirmed by the ruins of a city said to be ancient Tatta or Dewul Sindy on the eastern bank of this creek about forty miles from the mouth. There is the ruin of another, it is said, still more ancient Tatta or Dewul Sindy in the heart of the Delta which upon examination would most probably prove to have been abandoned from the faithlessness of a branch of the River which had at first perhaps invited its founders. This is palpably the case with Brahminabad called by the natives Kulankote, and the ruins of which lie four or five miles to the southwest of Tatta and the inhabitants have a distinct tradition,

which appearance confirms of the River running close under the walls of that town. The only mouth of the Indus now open to dingies and those of a small size is the one leading to Lahory Bunder. Mineral waters are found in many places in Sind but the most famous springs both hot are one in the neighbourhood of Nussurpoor and the other about ten miles from Currachee to the north west.

ANIMALS

Of the animal productions of Sind the camels are the most worthy of celebrity on the shore and the sable fish in the River. Camels are bred in every part of Sind and the greatest numbers in the salt marshes near the sea where there is an abundance of furze and shrub, affording them a rich food. Fresh water is brought down for them every week by the keepers who go two or three days sail up the river for the purpose. These camels have an advantage over any other breed in hardiness and being able to reconcile themselves to all kinds of food, while those reared inland refuse the pasture of the salt marshes. All the land carriage from Currachee to Candahar is carried on by these animals. They travel with burdens of four, five, and six hundred weight from fifteen to twenty miles during the night, which is most favourable to their constitution, and speed, and are left to graze during the day while the people of the caravan repose. Many are broken into the saddle and exceed horses in despatch, with this further convenience that they carry two people and their clothes and provisions. They are employed in turning wells and mills and in time of war small swivels are mounted on them. The horses bred in Sind are very strong but of a small size in general. The country however is not unfavourable to this animal and there are abundant instances to prove that by judicious crosses the race might be improved. Mules, asses and bullocks are used likewise in Sind and their number is not inconsiderable. The country affords much game of every kind and fortunately has no beats of prey except wolves. Their depredations do not extend beyond the poultry and occasional mischief to children and men accidentally sleeping in the plains. Their bite generally occasions death in the same course of time, and with the same symptoms as that

of a mad dog. The jackals are so ravenous and bold that at night they will attack people sitting smoking in the open air. In mentioning the animals of Sind the alligators should not be forgotten for they are very numerous, and much respected, not only by Hindoos, but also by the Mahomeddans. The tutelar god of Currachee is a scaly monster, with a train of females and dependants, nourished in the muddy rivulets which flow from the hot spring already remarked near Currachee, called Peer Munga, from the name of a Saint who formerly resided there. It is singular to see these animals sometimes dozing close to the mouth of the spring where the water is almost boiling hot, and sometimes wallowing in the pools which are perfectly cold. There are many badgers and otters in the river, the skins of which are bought at a high price at Cabul and Cundahar.

DRESS

The dress of the Sindians like their characters is a compound of foreign habits. Their jakets and caps are both unseemly imitations, one of the fashion of India and the other of Persia. Their drawers are shaped like those of the Turks. Turbans are worn of a monstrous magnitude and it is since the accession of the present rulers only that the flowing robe of India has been laid aside. The Sindians are uncommonly proud of their hair in which particular they correspond with their neighbours the Sikhs. It is not orthodox for a Mussulman to keep hair of his head but it is too great a favourite here to be sacrificed and the Princes themselves countenance the disobediance by their own practice. A Sindian measures his excellence and comeliness by the length of his beard and when it becomes white by age stains it either red or black, an art to which the women also have recourse to hide the greyness of their locks.

OCCUPATIONS

When necessity does not impel to motion, the Sindians shew their natural sloth. They will sit the whole day and night indulging in smoking and garrulity. Intoxication through some medium or other is habituated to all descriptions of persons and Bang or wild hemp as the most cheap is the most common. They make spirit both from Jagree and from dates which they perfume with spices and consume a great deal; the Hindoos particularly. The Sindians are excessively fond of singing and have good performers vocal and instrumental; but they are diminishing with other marks of the former prosperity of the country. Their active diversions are shooting and chopping with their swords to prove their temper and the strength of their own arms. They are good marksmen with their matchlocks, and inimitably dexterous with the bow and a blunt heavy arrow, which they use for game, and dart in a transverse instead of straight direction so that the body, and not the point of the arrow strikes the object. With these arrows they take partridges flying to the right and left, as surely and expeditiously as an European sportsman with a double barrelled gun. All the princes are from great practice increadibly expert both with their guns and bows. In riding, and the use of sword, the Sindians have no skill, nor have they any exercise peculiar to themselves.

REVENUE

The revenue of the whole territory of Sind including the three Chiefships is considered to be forty lacks of Rupees of which Meer Futteh Aly Khan's share it may be concluded is about twenty-five; since the annual tribute to the King which is ten lacks of Rupees, he pays six and half, and Meer Sohrab and Meer Tarrah, the rest.Meer Sohrab's revenue may be estimated at eleven lacks and Meer Tarrah's at four. The treasures of Meer Futteh Aly Khan and his brothers is concieved to be very great and with reason; for independently of the original property of the State and of the family of the Kalhora which has all fallen into their hands, they have themselves been for eighteen years past diligent in rapacity and inflexible in economy; but what they have amassed in wealth, they have lost in the spirit and affections of the people, the true riches and strength of government. The hoards of the Princes are deposited in forts, which they have in the Registan or desert where there are many fertile spots and thither they would retreat in case of invasion from the King or other pressing emergency. The Prince collects his revenue from the farmers in kind at the rate of three fifths of the produce and this he obliges the merchants and retailer of the Town to receive in what quantity, and at what rate he pleases. The imports are fruitful but exsorbitancy and vexation are fast destroying the trade, a matter of little concern to the rulers who do not look beyond their own time. The customs of Currachee besides the taxes of the town amount to eighty thousand Rupees. Those of Tatta and Shah Bunder which are generally included in one farm to one lack and twenty thousand and those of Hyderabad to about a lack and a half. The principal disbursement of the prince is his proportion of the tribute of ten lacks of Rupees to

the King and which as before observed is six lacks and half. This amount he does not render all in specie but a great part in the manufactures of Tatta which he first purchases and then charges at his own price. The administration of justice is here as in most eastern countries a source of emolument instead of expense. The charges of collection are about a fifth of the revenue and the household expenses of the Princes economical.

MILITARY FORCES

The military forces of Sind is furnished upon requisition of the Heads of the Tribes and land holders according to the extent of their Jagirs or Zamindarys and are only paid by the Prince while on actual service. In order, however, to keep their recollections alive to their duty and engagements and perhaps to be prepared himself for emergencies, the Prince keeps a small body of these troops in attendance by monthly relief. He has besides perhaps five thousand Men, Horse and Foot consisting of slaves and body servants. I conjecture, for it is difficult to pronounce, that Meer Futteh Aly Khan can bring five and twenty thousand fighting men into the field at any time and at a short warning. I am more clear in saying that Meer Sohrab commands ten thousand troops and that Meer Tarrh have five thousand of the choicest in the country. In a general cause therefore the Talpoory Family a force of forty thousand troops may be reckoned upon in Sind, and in a case of general enthusiasm the numbers would be great as every inhabitant is armed. The strongest man is among them the best soldier; for tactics they donot practice and bravery is common to them all. The weapons are matchlocks and swords; they have few horse among them and not at the utmost, I am speaking now of the collected force of the country, five thousand and most of these contemptible, but in marching perhaps their Foot excel any troops in the world. Meer Futteh Aly Khan has abundance and choice artillery consisting chiefly of purchases and presents from the English during their ancient connections with Gholam Shah (which was of the most intimate and friendly nature) with many likewise of Portuguese and Dutch manufacture. He has not better people at present to serve these but a surhung, a Tindal and some Lascars, deserters from the English but an

expert European or two might soon put this train into formidable state. Gunpowder of good strength and quality is made at Currachee. Tatta and Hyderabad likewise.

FORTIFICATION OF HYDERABAD AND KARACHI

The fortification of Hyderabad consists of high wall and a high citadel, upon which some very heavy guns are planted. The wall is thin but supported inside by a great depth of earth, partly original and partly piled up, which would make a breach difficult. The citadel is entirely brick work, but very thick, and the figure perfectly circular and not more than a hundred yards diameter. There is a dry ditch round one side of the fort, and low ground on the other. The circumference of the wall may be three quarters of a mile; it has few embrasions and no commanding angles, no outworks. The figure of the fort comes nearest to an oblong square, and it stands upon one side of the extremity of a long and narrow rocky hill steep in its declivity every way. The country surrounding this rock is an island formed by the Indus, about six or eight miles broad, twenty or thirty long, well cultivated, and annually inundated by the periodical swell. Tatta has not fortification whatever. There is the commencement of a wall begun under some of the kings of Delhi about a century and a half ago but it was countermanded from a report to the throne that the then Nabob of Tatta who was charged to execute the work instead of intending to carry a rampart round for the defence of the Town was projecting a citadel for the intrenchment of himself. Currachee is fortified with a thick mud wall upon which some guns are planted. No vessels can batter it from the sea for they are obliged to lie at a distance of at least three miles from it but their guns cover the landing of Troops abreast of the place of anchorage a vessel of more than two hundred tons could not safely cross Currachee bar and if she entered in an hostile manner, she might expect to find herself surrounded by all the dingies then lying there and

they would often be more than a dozen carrying guns some of them as heavy as her own and each of them perhaps more men, for such an occasion of attack there would be no scarcity of volunteers.

The most eligible place for an equipment to land in Sind during the north east monsoon is Guissary, a place about ten miles to the S.E. of Currachee at the mouth of a creek opening from the sea. Vessels of a large draft of water could anchor outside of Currachee bar and at a moderate distance from this creek. The landing at Guissary is convenient enough at high water for good sized boats and a couple of guns might keep the shore perfectly clear. The road to Currachee is level and hard and if the place were invested before too long an alarm had been given it would be found full of grain, ghee and cattle. From Currachee to Tatta the road is plain and good for the transportation of guns and stores and in favourable seasons is covered with rich verdure for the pasturage of cattle. From Tatta to Hyderabad any expedition would be best conveyed by water and could the country boats be seized or secured they would be found best adapted for the purpose, being broad and flat-bottomed, but they do not abound in the Indus, and are manageable only by those habituated in their mode of rigging and steering and intelligence likewise in the shoals of the river and windings of the stream. From Tatta, however, an army might advance by land till it came opposite to the island upon which Hyderabad stands at about five or six miles from the shore; but this is liable to two objections, first, the badness of the road for one-third of the way and secondly, the difficulty of crossing the Indus near Hyderabad, where the stream is three-quarters of a mile broad, and there the Prince would be in full force prepared to oppose an enemy's landing. One advantage, however, would turn out that about half between Tatta and

Hyderabad a town named Jirkah which is a depot of grain and ghee from Sewistan, and abounding likewise in cattle, might be without difficulty taken possession of. Perhaps the most effectual and least troublesome and expensive mode in which an enemy could proceed against the country would be to take and maintain firm possession of Currachee, and encourage the disaffected to the Government. By judicious negotiation with the Jokias and Namurdies to restore to them every thing they have lost both in lands and freedom there is every reason to believe they might be drawn off and the country between Currachee and Hyderabad would then be no longer tenable by the Prince. If Ubdul Nubee or any other of the heirs of the Kalhoras were to fling himself on the protection of a power who would secure him in possession of Currachee for a time, he would most probably soon be able to chase the Talpoorees from Hyderabad.

PART II

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN JONATHAN DUNCAN AND NATHAN CROW

From:

HOME SERIES,
MISCELLANEOUS, VOL. 333,
PP. 393-602.

To:

The Honourable Jonathan Duncan Esquire
President and Governor, Bombay.

Honourable Sir,

My last Respects were dated the 28th February. On the 2nd of March, accompanied by Mr. Durham, and taking with me the two Artillery Men, I left Currachee and, on the 19th of the same Month, reached Hyderabad, having waited at Tatta several days for the return of the Princes, who had been on separate Excursions, and for their final Determination of the Time, which would be most convenient for my Attendance.

By the Prince's Direction, the Viziers eldest son, who officiated at the Durbar in his Father's Absence, prepared Part of his House for my Accommodation where I lived during my stay.

I was met, about five Miles from the Capital, by one of the Confidential Khidmutgars of the Court and, on my alighting, the Prince sent his friendly Congratulations, with a handsome Entertainment and the same Mehmandar to abide with me, who had been attached to me on my first, visit. The other Brothers favoured me with their Compliments and Inquiries and every exterior Circumstance of my Reception bore the Colour of Cordiality and welcome.

This Complexion I was happy to find was not illusive. The Prince politely assigned the Day after my Journey to Repose and the Morning following for my Attendance at the Durbar. A full Court was assembled, the four Brothers were present and the Meeting was animate. Their Questions of my Welfare were lively and Warm and my Acknowledgements of my Happiness and Security under their Protection as earnest and repeated Professions of Satisfaction were the best Return for theirs of friendly interest and no absolute Strain of Truth.

They were Kind in their Attention to Mr. Durham and flattered by the Reasons I offered for our not waiting upon them before. After some Length of Conversation this public Audience closed in a manner creditable to the Residency, and so pleasing to them that they expressed their Wish, on my taking Leave, that I should return in the Evening to a private Interview.

I received the Command with Respect and Cheerfulness and was gratified when I waited upon them by finding their Access divested of the Studied Difficulty and their Behaviour of the affected Severity I had formerly experienced. Their Good Nature and familiarity exceeded my most sanguine Hopes and the Prince Manifested a Sense of your Friendship and a Complacency on the Affairs of the Residency that was scarcely to be expected, after the Indifference, not to say Rudeness,

which He had evinced on my first Deputation. He stopped me in an Address I was making, by observing that, "his own Breast prompted a great Deal which, he thought, I might have to say and that for the Rest I needed only at my Leisure Signify my Wishes to Mirza Ismael" (the Vizier's Son) "and be assured that they should meet with favourable Notice. It was his Intention" he said, "if the Season would Permit of his People's returning before the Setting in of the Monsoon, to apologize through a Deputation of his own to you, for not having earlier Acknowledged by such a Return the Compliment of yours. At all Events, he should now" he added "accompany his Answers to your Letters, by some Public Present through me and Acquit himself by fuller Marks hereafter, of the Esteem he owed, to your Person and that which was due to the Friendship of the Honorable Company." He expressed, as well as the other Brothers, much satisfaction at Mr. Durham's coming and likewise at the Arrival of the Artillery Men and the Shells. I did not fail to magnify the Sacrifice which your Honorable Board had made to their Wishes and they Acknowledged the Obligation, with many Compliments, for the Zealous Intercession I had used to induce this Condescension, "I had satisfactorily." they said, "proved my Sincerity and Attachment and they considered me as one of the most Select of their Adherents. "During the Period," I replied, "that I had had the Happiness of residing in their Territories, my great Solicitude had been to merit their Confidence and Esteem and thereby promote Harmony and Friendship between their State and my own, in which Endeavour I was with Equal Faith devoted to both and I therefore requested that they would give me an Opportunity of explaining or correcting any circumstance which, in Fact or Distortion, might have excited the faintest Sentiment of Disapprobation of Residency, of which I had the Honour of holding Charge." A Profusion of Assurance were

returned of unfeigned and entire Satisfaction on all Points and high Estimation of my Conduct in every Respect. The Prince proposed my remaining at Hyderabad till his return from another Excursion, upon which the whole were setting out, and the Second Brother, Meer Gholam Aly Khan, invited me to a private Audience at this Durbar, previously to their Departure.

In this Interview I received the most pleasing and distinguished Tokens of Affability and Goodwill. He seated me Close to him and encouraged me to place the fullest Reliance on the Declarations of Esteem, which had been made to me and to unfold myself without Reserve upon every Matter I might wish to bring forward. The invitation was the most reasonable that could be made to my Business and I availed myself of so fair a Medium, to introduce every Subject I wished to impress and to ascertain those I wanted to understand, Amongst the former the principal was the Earnest Purpose of the Honorable Company to establish the most perfect Amity and Good Understanding with the Government of Sind and to carry on, with Honour and Security, a Commerce and Intercourse advantageous to both. Amongst the Latter, the Material Discovery I wished to make, was the real Tone of their Disposition towards the English Connexion, Since they had had ample Leisure for Weighing the Subject and Sufficient Experience for forming some Conclusive Opinion of our Establishment in their Country I knew that the disaffected Part of the Merchants had, not ceased to raise, upon every possible Occasion, Dissatisfaction and Alarm in the Minds of the Princes and had founded much Plausibility of Argument upon the little Extent of our Imports hitherto; from which Neglect, they not only urged that the Revenue had been disappointed but that it was greatly to be feared, that the Conquest not Commerce was our View. These Malicious reports were

reverberated to me as orginating in the Suspicion of Government, with many reflections and Insinuations of a similar Stamp, all of which, in a Manner suitable to the Character of each, I thought it advisable to take this Opportunity of Combating. I quoted To Meer Gholam Aly Khan, the Conciliation, that I had used with the Merchants of Currachee, on my first hoisting the Flag there. "It was too well known to be disputed and a little Inquiry" I said "would confirm to him, that I had invited them in the most Cordial Manner, to a Harmony of industry, that should be most convenient to our respective Interests and productive to the Customs of the Country; which it was the wish of my Employers should be benefited not injured by our Establishment, I had professed, as I felt that I was entered, in some Measure, a Subject of the same State with them, the Prosperity of which we should strive to increase by our Labours and not to diminish by our Jealousies. I had given the first Proof of Readiness on my Part to make every Sacrifice to the Removal of Discord, by Assurances that I should always grant every Title of Seniority to the Heads of their Body and conform to any General Regulations they might think it Salutary to adopt for the trade of the place. I had pledged myself to give them full Notice always of my intended Indents for merchandize, that their Enterprize might not suffer any Check nor their Plans any Perplexity from an Ignorance of Mine: and, finally, I had offered to resign all Competition in a very large Proportion of the Trade, which would therefore as much as heretofore be appropriate to them alone. I had observed to them, that if they obstinately persisted in rejecting my Overtures to a private good Understanding, and thereby opposed the Growth of that public union which I was deputed to promote, their Faith to their own Government would be Questionable as their Respect to Mine." I stated to Meer

Gholam Aly Khan that in this early Stage of the Residency much scope of understanding could not be reasonably expected, nevertheless in order to realize as soon as possible the Mutual Advantages Contemplated a great Deal had been risked by your Honourable Board in Experiment as the Imports of Currachee and Tatta could testify and much Sacrificed in disposing of the Goods afterwards, as my Broker's Accounts could shew. The Commerce of the Country I reminded him had much changed, within the last thirty years and the Experience of our former Factory afforded very little Light for the Direction of our present one. The field was not only new but already occupied by able and hostile Competitors and much Caution and Circumspection therefore became necessary. Meer Gholam Aly assured me that the Endeavours in Trade, which had already been made by our Factory and the Conciliations, which I had used, had been well noticed by the Prince and himself and considered as deserving of much Admiration, and, that the Hostility of the Merchants had no Weight with them and should be looked upon with the same insignificance by me. I told him, fervent Solicitude was, that not only every Satisfaction should be given to his and the Prince's Mind, on Matters of importance, but, such a minute Conformity exist in the Economy of all Affairs under my Management, with the smallest of their Wishes, that Enmity should be baffled where to find an opening to disturb their Confidence or excite my Anxiety. I placed myself and Household, I said, under his Direction, in the same full Degree that both were under his Protection. I Probed him even to the Return of the Guard, Restriction the Number of Servants and Dismission from or Introduction of any particular Persons into the Establishment. What his Impressions were before this Conversation I cannot take upon me to decide; I had been taught that they were clouded with some Distrust, but, of what he felt from the

earnest Concern and Sincerity which I evidenced, there could be no Doubt, for his Countenance beamed with Satisfaction and his Language flowed with kindness and Regard. Of my Faith, he replied, His Brother to whom he should repeat all that I had said and himself were fully assured. Of my own Concerns my own Judgement was the best Regulator, and, in respect to Extent of Establishment I was at Liberty to employ one or a hundred. He had nothing, he declared to recommend or desire, but that I should feel myself at home in their Country and pursue my Affairs with perfect Tranquility and Confidence. He pressed me in return to communicate freely whatever wish I might have at present and offered his Support towards the Accomplishment of it; to which I replied, the greatest favour I had to ask was, that in all matters respecting the Honorable Company's Residency and myself personally, I might have the Honour of being heard whenever on any Transaction or Report He might feel a Doubt of be induced, from the surface, to draw an unfavourable Conclusion. He admired my Solicitude and Candour, he said, and whenever any Question arose would always write to me or send for me.

I had brought with me a double barrelled and a Single barrelled Fowling Piece and a Pair of Pistols for each of the Princes, which they had formerly written to me to purchase for them on Commission; to these I added a few other Articles in Discrimination of Age and Precedence and presented the whole for their Acceptance. Some Compliment of this Kind I found upon Consulting Mirza Ishmael was indispensable according to the Practice of the Durbar; it was well claimed by the Behaviour which had been shewn me and I provided for the Expense in my Charge for the Shells, without weakening the Favour of that Supply.

The Princes were absent about ten Days. After their Return, Meer Gholam Aly Khan, with the two Younger Princes, came to the Vizier's House, for the purpose of seeing Mr. Durham and myself, as I was given to understand, for, on no Occasion had they ever visited Mirza Ishmael and We were formally desired to be prepared to meet them. On this Occasion Ceremony was entirely banished and the Conversation general and they departed so much pleased at the Attention to their inquires and the Endeavours We had shewn to gratify and amuse them, that their Report made the Prince desirous of an Interview of the Same familiar Nature and He invited us to come an Evening or two afterwards, when We should see his Horses, he said, and some of his most valuable Swords and Fire Arms and all unnecessary Form be excluded.

In this Visit every Thing corresponded with the proposed Terms of it and we were received as persons domesticated. The Prince put a Multitude of Questions respecting Europe, Great Britain particularly, our Constitution, His Majesty personally, The Honourable Company, the Origin of our Establishment in India, the different Country Powers and the Footing on which they stood with Us, which gave me an Opportunity, I much wished for, of presenting some Sketch of our National Glory and Greatness to his Contemplation of informing, him how bearly every fixed Government in the World was interested in the Success of the Stand We were maintaining in Defence of Sacredness of Religion and the Peace and Security of Society in general, of rescuing our Name from the Impeachments of Treachery and Usurpation which our Enemies had spread abroad and of asserting the Equity and Respect of our own. The Prince gave me to understand that he was ambitious of sending a Deputation with an Address and Present to the King of England and was very inquisitive respecting the length and

difficulties of the Voyage and the Articles which would be most acceptable. He inquired of me and I thought with some Gravity, the object of our Mission to Cutch and I am afraid gave me little Credit, when I assured him of my Ignorance. There is a near Connection between this Government and that of Cutch and, he would have been much flattered, I believe, could I have merely given him an early Intimation that such a Deputation was Intended. Two Vakeels one from the Rajah of Joodpoor and the other from the Rajah of Cutch (or rather Futteh Mahomed, the Sindian Jemmadar, who Governs that Country) had taken Leave of the Prince, just as I arrived at Hyderabad; and I have some reason to think that our name was comprehended in the Subject of the latter's Visit at least. I took an Occasion at this Interview of touching, in a decent and respectful Manner, upon the Purity and Distinctness which had marked our Cultivation of his the Prince's Friendship, and made it a Principle of Delicacy in me, to avoid if possible any Concern beyond his immediate Territories and to receive with Reserve, any foreign Overtures to Intercourse and Correspondence, but as the Extending of the Honourable Company's Commerce was an Object of mutual Interest and might eventually require some Subordinate Agencies abroad, particularly at Shikarpoor or Candahar, I begged to bespeak his approbation of such Establishments, should they hereafter be necessary. At present, I said, it was requisite that an intelligent Merchant should proceed to the upper Provinces, to make some Inquiries into the Qualities and Prices of certain Articles and, with his Sanction, I should shortly send one. The Prince Strenuously desired that I would entertain no Kind of Difference or Hesitation, in adopting whatever Measures I might think best to promote our Trade and that if, on any occasion, our own influence might not be sufficient, he would himself undertake to forward and protect our Agents and their

Affairs. This speech, I am inclined to think, was much more polite than sincere in the Latitude it recommended to me and one Reason of my proposing to the Prince the Subject of sending an Agent to Candahar, was to observe how he would receive it. Perhaps while maintained with Candour and on Commercial Grounds an Intercourse beyond his Limits would not be the Cause of serious Jealousy to him, but I should think it eligible to defer the Trial, until a longer Acquaintance may have completely dissipated his Doubts and confirmed his Confidence in the nature of our Character and Dealings.

I shall not intrude on your Time with a Tedious Recital of all the Intercourse and Conversation I had, in six interviews with the Princes, with Mirza Ishmael, in whose Company I passed a Portion of every Day and with other Officers of the Court, whom I frequently saw. I shall Summarily and respectfully State, that I have been incessantly studious, from the Moment of my Arrival in this Country, of Winning the Confidence of the Government and disposing it to your Views, of Conciliating the Affections of the People at Large and of attracting as extensive a Respect and Goodwill towards our Establishment in this Part of the World, as possible; and the Results of my recent Journey to the Court will convey, I trust some Evidence, that my Endeavours there Strengthened by the support with which you have been pleased to honour them and which I gratefully acknowledge have not altogether failed of Success. I have gained an Approach, Sternly refused me before and Accomplished an Intimacy from which mutual Satisfaction has at once Sprung and much growth of Friendship is promised; for my Access to the Persons of the Rulers is rendered more independent; their Approbation of the Residency and its Claims to their Confidence are cleaned from the Doubts with which Malice ws industrious to obscure both; and they are

now as convinced of my Desire to obtain their Regard, as they have been, on some other Occasion, of my Determination to insist on their Good manners. I have raised a Sense of Respect and Propriety in the Prince towards the British Connexion, beyond what he was at first inclined to show, of which his intended Deputation to you and his recent Reception of your Resident are Testimonies and I have the Pleasure to enclose Substantial Document of the increasing Cordiality of his Disposition, in additional Concessions, which he has made in Favour of the Honorable Company's Commerce. I shall be happy if these Fruits repay in your Estimation the Trouble of your Letters in my Favour which have given to the Prince Confidence in my Appointment and Weight to my Character and without which all my Efforts must have been unproductive.

I made known through Mirza Ishmael to the Prince that if I had a Wish beyond the Pride and Happiness of his Countenance it was to be furnished with some Mark of the Graciousness of his Disposition towards the Residency and his Protection of me, which I might hand to my Patrons and no Condescension, I added, would be so acceptable as an Increase of Indulgence to the Honorable Company's Trade at Currachee, over and above what was granted to other Merchants, which might set the Preeminence of the Factory beyond Dispute and discourage all further Attempts of rival Interests to disturb it's Success or shake it's Permanance. The Prince's Reception of this Desire and the clearest Report of his present Temper are contained in the two Purwannas, which I have the Honour to enclose: Upon the first of which I have the Pleasure to say, the Honourable Company's Residency stands highest in Currachee in Mercantile Privileges and, upon the latter I have to observe, that it is intended by the Prince to Confer, in Favour of the Resident, a mark of Rank and confidence greater than enjoyed

by the highest of his Belochee Chiefs who, unless in Command of the Fort at Currachee, could not enter the Gates until disarmed.

The Musters of Woolens, transmitted to me by the Secretary to your Honourable Board I laid before the Prince and submitted to him the Advantages, which might reciprocally be derived from making this Article a Part of his Tribute to the King. He gave me Encouragement to hope that he would take annually a Quantity from the Amount of fifty thousand to that of two Lacks of Rupees and promised to let me know, after some necessary Inquiry and Deliberation, his final Resolution.

Before the Expiration of ten Days from the Return of the Prince all Discussions were completed, the Purwannas drawn out and delivered to me, the Account of the Shells discharged and the Letters to your Address, herewith forwarded, sent me from the Prince and Meer Fholan Aly Khan. No superciliousness nor Neglect was shown, in any One Instance, but a uniform Cordiality manifested during my stay at Hyderabad which was nearly a Month.

At my Departure the Prince delivered to me a very valuable Horse, one of the Favorites of his Stable for you and he should, he said, send a respectable Person after the Rains, with a Present more becoming of his Offer and more Worthy of your Acceptance. The Prince presented me with a Gold mounted Cimetar, similar to the one I had the Honour to transmit by the Drake, to which he added, as a Token of special Favour, a Loongee or Kummurband, from his own Waist. He said He should expect me to return the next Month or the Month after, as might better suit my Convenience and pass a few Days with him at one of his hunting Seats: an

Invitation which I. of course embraced with many Acknowledgements to the Honour. Meer Gholam Aly Khan gave me a Courier Camel from the choicest of those, appropriated to his own Riding and Meer Karum Aly Khan and Meer Moorad Aly Khan sent me each a Kummurband. Mr. Durham attended the Princes separately in several Visits and his professional Abilities and Politeness of Manners, contributed essentially to the Cultivation of the goodwill. The Prince presented him at Parting with a handsome Sindian Rifle.

Upon Inspection of the Ordnance and Stores at Hyderabad, Serjeant Navine found it impossible to gratify the Princes with more Precision in the flinging of Shells, than three or four Native Sirhungs in their Service could command. The Powder had no fixed Criterion of Strength, the Mortars wanted Beds and mathematical Instruments of any Kind were not to be found. The Dis-appointment of the Princes and the Country indeed at large, has been very great. Their Ignorance of Science does not admit of their making proper Allowances and Meer Gholam Aly Khan has absolutely conceived Offence from a Suspicion that there has been some wilful trifling used by the Men. Several Reasons, which I shall do myself the Honour of detailing hereafter, render it highly eligible. I humbly conceive that this Failure should be repaired. The Prince presented the Artillery Men with a Piece of Silk each and a Small Sum of Money.

After Acknowledging the Attention of Mirza Ishmael to myself and my Affairs and indeed much Courtesy, comparatively with my former Experience, from all the People at Hyderabad I must not omit to Notice the great Politeness, I received from Uktur Khan; whom I formerly had Occasion to mention in One of my Letters. He is a Brother - in- Law to the

present Vizier Wufadar Khan and is appointed from the King to receive the Tribute here and transmit it to Candahar. These Collectors as may be concluded from their Business, are not Welcome in Sind and many Considerations of the Temper of this Government and the Nature of my own Station, made me extremely circumspect not to creat Jealousy in the Mind of Meer Futteh Aly Khan nor Disgust in the Breast of Uktur Khan. I may, I believe, without Presumption, assert that my Conduct has been such as to give great Satisfaction to both Parties; to confirm the Confidence of the One and increase the Goodwill of the other. Scarcely a Day passed at Hyderabad without my rceiving some Compliment or Attention from Uktur Khan and, at going away he used so much Art and Importunity to prevail on me to accept a Horse from him that I could not without giving absolute Offence, return him from my Door. I made him a Present adequate to his own and have put the Horse in Company with some others for a friend at Surat, that he may be sold on the Company's Account. There were likewise two Afghan Agents at Hyderabad, one from Ameen ul Molk, the former Vizier and the other from the King's present Meer Akhor or Master of the Horse; from both of whom I met with very pointed Respect.

The Account of an Advance of Baba Khan's Troops having appeared in Khorassan, as I had the Honour of reporting in my Address of the 15th of February, I found corroborated at Hyderabad and the ambitious Views of Wufadar Khan, the King's Vizier, which I formerly represented, are become notorious abroad and said to be connected, though the Manner is not explained, with the Destruction of five of the first Nobles of the Afghan State, whom, at his Instigation, Zemaun Shah has lately beheaded. This Execution has caused great discontent in the Army, of

which they were veterran Chiefs and much disgust among the People at large, by whom they were greatly beloved. Zemaun Shah is represented as having taken, within those two or three Years, a devout Propensity, which has lately much increased. He resigns, it is said, the Duties of Empire principally to his Minister, by whom he is infatuated, that He may, at more Leisure, devote himself to those of Religion. His Piety is so excessive that, not satisfied with Scrupulously discharging all the obligations of the Koran, He sedulously employs himself in transcribing it and two or three of his favorite Couriers can boast the Commandments of the Gospel; in the Handwriting of their King. Flattery it may be supposed magnifies his Penmanship, but of his Industry, I am assured, there are many unequivocal Proofs, in complete Copies of the Holy Book.

I have deemed it, on many Considerations, as much incumbent on me, since I came to this Country, carefully to conceal your View of making this Government a political Engine, as assiduously to study the Possibility of converting it to such Purpose and an Occasion offered at Hyderabad, of pursuing both Duties with some Effect. Mirza Ishmael told me one Morning, in a Public Manner and Promiscuous Company, that his Father had written to him from Bushire, "that We had entered into Engagements with the King of Persia, to pay him a certain Sum to send annually a Body of Troops, to threaten the Frontiers of Zemaun Shah; that He might keep at home and not invade the Northern Provinces of India and alarm the Company's Possessions." I treated the report with some slight Contempt as referring, I observed, to a simple Event (alluding to Captain Malcolm's Mission) which explained itself on the ancient and well-known Amity and Intimacy existing betwist the English and the Persians, to a Cause which Spoke a Degree of Absurdity. We had formerly, I remarked, sent Ambassadors

to Persia and had many Factories in the Country. Perhaps it might be wished to revise some of them; but, whether any object pore than a Tribute of Friendship were mediated or not, it was inconsistent to suppose that the English would refer to the Court of Persia any Threats from Zemaun Shah when they were so well able to redress them themselves. I afterwards took an Opportunity of telling Mirza Ishmael that I was convinced in my own Mind, that the Report his Father had heard was a Fabrication of some People at Bushire, nevertheless I was in some Measure anxious about it, as to the Opinion the Prince might have of it or the invitation it might give to the King should he place Belief in it. It was a Servant of a humble Degree, and Distance, added to that, might keep me ignorant of many events and Designs, I observed. I should like, I said, to have his Opinion in what Character the Prince's Friendship would appear were anything to offend the English and determine them to Hostilities against Zemaun Shah? "Such a Circumstance," he said smiling and treating my Question was answering itself, "would be I might suppose too desirable to "the Prince to require any Apprehensions." Mirza Ishmael could only corroborate what was evident on a little Reflection to any one, that this Government must have a material Interest in seeing the King employed.

I left Hyderabad the 16th Instant, stopped some Time at Tatta, to attend to some Business and discharge some Duties of Friendship and Acquaintance among the People there, and hastend here on the 28th ultimo in the hourly Expectaton of being honoured with your Commands and receiving a Consignment either by one of the Honorable Company's or a freighted Vessel.

Upon a Vigilant observation of this Government, since I have had the Honour of holding Charge of the Residency and a nice Scrutiny of it's Temper, in my last Visit to the Capital, I can take upon me to affect it as my humble Persuasion that the Honourable Company's establishment in this Country may be maintained with Security and Respectability and the Connexion with it be, by careful Degrees, improved to a great Maturing of political and Commercial Advantage. The Austerity of the Prince is Softened, his Alarms are moderated and he begins, I think, to feel a Confidence in and Respect for the Honourable Company's Alliance. Of the political Advantages derivable from an Establishment in his Dominions and a perfected harmony with him, I shall respectfully State what Strike me humble Judgement.

First, By the Existence of a Residency in Sind, a Subject of Contemplation is raised, which cannot altogether be despised by Zemaun Shah and, as our Footing and Intimacy seem to Strengthen, his observation must, in Proportion, be roused; therefore the Object of diverting his Attention is in some Measure promoted. I am convinced from the corresponding Evidence of every Traveller, whom I have been, that the Restoration of our Factory and our Growing Intercourse at Hyderabad have been Observed, at Candahar, with great Attention, great Jealousy and general Regret: and that in Order to Check our Connexion with this Country and to bring us more under his Sight and Control the King would be disposed to grant us any Admission We might ask into his immediate Territories.

Secondly. In the Event of our ever undertaking offensive Measures against the Afghan Empire, it may be reasonable expected upon a riper Friendship, if not to make the Sindians a

party at Least to derive essential Assistance from them, to the Passage and Supply of our own Troops. The present Government possesses not the Power of leading Hostilities nor even of provoking them too far.

Thirdly. A future Revolution like many of those which have happened amongst the Rulers of this Country, may produce a Character, who will not only aim at establishing the Independence, likewise at extending the Limits of his Dominion and our Presence is necessary to give Strength to such an Ambition and to reap the Benefits it might offer to us. Enterprize is not altogether to be despaired of in the present Prince, but it is much more to be looked for in the Person of Meer Gholam Aly Khan, who spoke to me himself, at my late Visit, with great Discontent on the Subject of the Tribute, which they rendered, he said (in a Language of Ostentation), "more as a Compliment than a Due for they had gained the Country by their words and not from the Bounty of the King." That their Independence of him must grow in Proportion to their Confidence in Us and the latter increase with their Experience of our Sincerity and good Wishes and their Knowledge of our general Character and Condition, must be evident without Argument.

Fourthly. By occupying this Ground We anticipate our natural Enemies in a Part of the world where, could they have made an Appearance good, their Reception might, once, have been as Cordial nearly as in Mysore. The Countries of Afghanistan and Belochistan have been successfully lighted up by Tippoo's emissaries with the Fire of his Enthusiasm and the French, as the Enemies of the Infidels of India, are regarded therefore with some Degree of Prepossesion. I have en the Feelings and Sentiments of some Classes and Characters,

particularly the Wild Belochees of Sind and the Patans of Nuseer Khan's Country, who were to be least suspected by any great participation of the General Ardour or Information of its Plans, assume on the News of the Sultan's Fall, an Earnestness of Inquiry and Vividness of Concern, which prove the Instigations against us, to have been as effective as they were assiduous and extensive. Indeed every Day's Experience, as the Fact of Tippoo's Death becomes more credited, I find afford fresh Testimony of the Consternation it has occasioned and instructive Argument of Silent and Serious Combination of the Mahomedan Powers against us. Although no Machinations perhaps are now to be feared it may be prudent to watch every Theatre, where they are to be suspected and this Country is One.

Fifthly. From Friendship and harmony with this Government, a useful Instrument may be Commanded against the Maratta States should their Ambition ever threaten our Repose or our Policy require that their Power should be reduced. It appears to me Strongly the Disposition of the Princes if they had more Confidence in their own Strength, to try their Efforts, without any Invitation but the Glory of annoying infidels.

Sixthly. When the first Surprize and Alarms at our Intrusion here may have more Subsided and the Minutest Motions of the Residency be less the Subject of jealous Scrutiny Inquiries may be prosecuted and Connexions established that will correctly ascertain the real State of the Afghan Empire and regularly report its Changes and Events. Another Advance in Intimacy with the Princes will procure, I think, my Access to the Intelligence, as furnished from Time to Time by their Agents at Ahmed Shahy. If the Coast still

require Vigilance, the two grand Openings of Currachee and Sonemeany are under the Inspection of the Residency.

These are all the Prospects of Political Advantage which my Recollection enables me to Sketch and without Knowing how far any of them are deserving of Notice, it is not necessary I presume to be more Particular.

Of the Commercial Views which this Residency Presents, the Sale of British Woollens is the principal and I have reason to hope that it will not be disappointed; but as I had the Honour of observing in my first Correspondence by the Drake, it may be remembered, that as our political Objects succeed at Candahar our Commercial ones will fail, for the Demands there fluctuate with the Peace and Prosperity of the Country. A few Months will determine the Expectations on this Head. At Currachee there is an import of British Staples, China Sugar, Malabar Pepper and other Articles to an Amount of between two or three lacks of Rupees, annually, in which private Merchants find an Advantage and from which the Honorable Company might I should suppose derive the same. This Subject will be detailed in my Commercial Letter to your Honorable Board.

Upon recurring to my Communications by the Drake and some which soon after followed, which were the Result of a Short Experience, confused by many Advocations, I have to accuse myself of much too Sanguine a Calculation of the Facility of investigating the State of Zemaun Shah's Country and spying into the Politics of his Court: but the Error is pardonable as arising from Circumstances, which I had not, at the Time, opportunity of discovering and therefore could not take into Account namely the Suspicion of this Government

and the Active Malignity of those hostile to the Residency. I found myself so narrowly Watched and so little able to rely upon any Body, that I could not pursue a particular Train of Inquiry or indulge much general Curiosity, without raising an alarming Idea to the Government of some mysterious Purpose in my Deputation and damping that Confidence, which it appeared to me was the primary Object of my Duty to endeavour to acquire. In Pursuance of this End, I have even thought it prudent to refrain from using my Pen at Times when I wished to write and, on my late Visit to the Capital, I took Major Rennels Map and gave much Satisfaction to the Prince's Mind by showing it and explaining to him that it was a Drawing, Stamped in Europe, of Places, the Geography of some of which was known to the Greeks and that it was no Performance of mine, as certain well wishers had done me the Honour, I heard, to State.

If the Affairs of the Residency have undergone any Improvement and I trust that they will find that Merit in your Judgement as well from the Princes own Correspondence, as my Report the Success is to be attributed to the Strength bestowed by your Support, which has enabled me to break through the Impediments, set up by his own Haughtiness and Multiplied by the Designs and Intrigues of Mediators, who Systematically exaggerate the Fierceness and Despotism of the Court to People Outside, having any Business with it, in order to enhance the Value of their Patronage and rob the real virtue from Things abroad to decorate their Services in the years on the Prince within.

I have the Honour to enclose an Account of the Presents I made at the Court of Meer Futteh Aly Khan on my late Visit and likewise to add, for your immediate Satisfaction on the

Subject of Commerce, an Average Statement of the Quantity and Price of Certain Imports at Currachee and Tatta, in one Year; by which it appears that independently of the Prospect of a Mart for British Woolens, there is an annual Demand, to the Amount of at least four Lacks of Rupees, for Articles, which, it is to be concluded from their Description, might, by Skilful and faithful Management in the Purchase and Charges, be supplied on the Honourable Company's Account, with the same or little less Advantage, that Individuals find in the Traffick.

I have the Honour to be, with Respect,
Honorable Sir,

Currachee — Your most obedient humble servant

7th May 1800 — Signed NATHAN CROW

P.C. I shall do myself the Honour of transmitting the Letters from the Prince and Meer Gholam Aly Khan and Copies of the Original Purwannas by the first Sea Conveyance.

N.C.

Translation

TRANSLATION of a Purwanna remitting one third of the Fee of Foujdaree and the whole of the Fee of Moajdarees on the Honble Compys. Trade at Currachee, and Suspending the Fee of Moree on the Importation their vessels, received from Meer Futteh Aly Khan. The Prince of Sind at this Court, at Hyderabad the 14th April 1800.

Dewan Secretary Accountant Recorder
1 1

) (

By Imperial commnd the Purposet of this Sunnud is to be observed from the date thereof.

Seal of the Prince
Meer Futteh Aly
Khan

Smaller
seal of the Prince

The collectors and Farmers at the present Time & hereafter, of the Town of Currachee, will understand that Mr. Crow Englishman, Vakeel of the Asylum of Valour, Wisdom & Intelligence, The Honble Jonathan Duncan Governor of Bombay and Surat on the Part of the exalted, renowned and powerful English East India Company, has had the honour of rendering himself at our Presence and having by his Fidelity, attention & Attachment Cemented the union and Friendship of the two Government, We have therefore out of our gracious Favour & particular Regard to the Satisfaction and Convenience of the illustrious Company, above mentioned, resolved to remit one third of the Fee of Foujdaree which is one and a half per cent on the value of all merchandize and entirely to excuse the Fee of Moajdaree & likewise the Fee of Moree on all Dingeys & Ships for two Importations of the vessel, in one year, You are this Writing instructed of our

having granted these Exemptions and ordered to Consider them in Effect, from the Date of this sunnud and to act conformably.

Two thirds of the Fee of Foujdaree and two thirds of the Customs according to our former sunnud, you will not fail to recover and to carry to account.

Dated 17th of Zeekyde 1214 of the Hyra or 12th of April 1800 of the Christian Era.

A true Translation

(Signed) NATHAN CROW.

Translation of Purwanna providing for the more honourable Ingress & Egress of the Honble Company's Resident at Currachee through the Gates of that Fort, received from Meer Futteh Aly Khan, the prince of Sind, at this Court at Hyderabad the 14th April, 1800.

Dewan

Issued from the Presence.

Seal of the Prince
Meer Futteh Aly
Khan.

The Kelladars & Officers of the Town of Currachee will understand, that Mr. Crow Englishman being ranked by us

amongst our Sincere & faithful Adherents, therefore, out of Regard to him & Respect to his Patrons, We hereby direct that if he pass in or out of the Gates of the Fort with arms, you do not on that account offer him any Molestation or Hindrance, but, in all your Behaviours observe Kindness and Cordiality, You will consider this Command peremptory.

Dated 19th of Zeekyde or the 14th of April, 1800.

A true Translation

(Signed) NATHAN CROW.

TRANSLATION of a Purwanna from Meer Futteh Aly Khan Prince of Sind, for the Amount of the shells furnished him from the Presidency, delivered to me the 14th April 1800.

To be obeyed according to the imperial order.

Dewan
Accountant
Recorder

Seal of Meer Futteh
Aly Khan

Smaller Seal of
the Prince.

To the respectable Maitre Suchanund, Collector of the Town of Currachee, Welfare -

At this time, a Note under our imperial Seal to the amount of six thousand five hundred and thirty four Rupees, Two

Quarters & fifty Reas, Coin of Bombay on account of Mortar Shells is drawn upon you; therefore we order that you discharge the same, according to its tenor, from your Treasury and take a Receipt for the Amount. The Difference of Exchange betwixt Bombay & Currachee Currency you will adjust according to the rate of the Day, and agreeably to the Receipt of the Seller, you will be credited. You will consider this order peremptory.

Dated 16th Zeekyde 1214 or 11th of April 1800.

A true Translation

(Signed) NATHAN CROW.

Injunction of the Dewan

Seal of the Prince.

MEMORANDUM of the Price of Mortar Shells required by us and bought of Mr. Crow Englishman at Currachee & by our imperial order transferred to the Account of Maitre Suchanund Collector of that Town. Mr. Crow's original Bill is here copied & annexed.

	Currachee Mnds
100 Shells of the Ist Sort Each Shell weighing 1 Mnd & 32 Seers of Currachee	180-.-.

100	Shells of the 2nd Sort Each Shell weighing 1 Mnd & 30 Seers of Currachee	175-.-.
100	Shells of the 3rd Sort Each Shell weighing 1 Mnd & 3 Seers of Currachee	107-20-.
100	Shells of the 4th Sort Each Shell weighing 28 Seers of Currachee	70-.-.
400	Currachee Mnds.	532-20-.
Each Mnd at Rs. 11.2.50 Bbay Currenty		Rups, 6190.1.25
Freight @ 10 Annas Pr. Maund Currency		Rups. 332.3.25
Humallage @ 10 Annas Pr. Maund Currency		Rups 11.2.-.
	Bombay Rupees	6534.2.50

A true Translation
(Signed) NATHAN CROW.

ACCOUNTS of PRESENTS made at the Durbar of Hyderabad on my visit in March 1800.

To the Prince Meer Futteh Aly Khan

1	Dble Barreled Gun	400-.-
1	Single Barreled Gun	150-.-.
1	Pr. of Silver mounted Pistols	120-.-.
4	Canisters of Powder	40-.-.
4	Bags of small Shot	28-.-.

4 Cubas of Superfine Cloth	140-.-.
Glass ware	33-.-.
4 Couches & 6 Chairs	134-.-.

	1945-.-.

To Meer Gholam Aly Khan	
1 Dble Barreled Gun	400-.-.
1 Fowling Piece	150-.-.
1 Pr. of Pistols	120-.-.
3 Canisters of Powder	30-.-.
3 Bags of Shots	21-.-.
Glass ware	26-.-.
2 Coats of Superfine Cloth	70-.-.
2 Pelongs for his son	32-.-.

	849-.-.

To Meer Kurum Aly Khan	
1 Dble Barreled Gun	400-.-.
1 Fowling Piece	150-.-.
1 Pair of Pistols	120-.-.
A Canister of Powder	
& a Bag of Shot	17-.-.
Glass ware	13-.-.
1 Coat of Superfine Cloth	35-.-.

	735-.-.

To Meer Moorad Aly Khan	
1 Dble Barreled Gun	400-.-.
1 Fowling Piece	150-.-.
1 Pair of Pistols	120-.-.
A Canister of Powder	
& a Bag of Shot	17-.-.

Glass ware	13-.-.
1 Coat of Superfine Cloth	35-.-.

	735-.-.

To the Queen Dowager	
1 ps. of China Damask	60-.-.
1 ps. of Khord baft	35-.-.
4 ps. of Pelongs	64-.-.
Glass ware	16-.-.

	175-.-.

To Mirza Ishmael the Vizier's Son	
2 Coats of Superfine Cloth	70-.-.
4 Pelongs	64-.-.
Glass ware	21-.-.
Powder & Shot	15-.-.

	170-.-.

To Meer Fukeera	
1 ps. of Damask	70-.-.
2 ps. of Pelong	32-.-.
Glass ware	5-.-.

	107-.-.

To Paromul Dewan to the Prince	
2 Pelongs & 2 Glasses	33-.-.

Cash	100-.-.

	133-.-.

To Khan Ghun the Prince's Moonshee

1 Pelong & 1 Glass	17-.-.
Cash	75-.-.

	92-.-.

To Meyvaram Moonshee to Meer Moorad Aly Khan

1 Pelong & 1 Glass	17-.-.
Cash	100-.-.

	117-.-.

To Hajy Khyre Mahomed the Mehmandar

Cash	20-.-.
2 Perpet Coats	8-.-.
4 Knives	1-.-.

	29-.-.

To Gulab Roy, Mirza Ishmael's Moonshee

Cash	10-.-.
1 Purpet Coat	5-.-.

	15-.-.

To Jemshid, a Messenger of the Durbar	
1 Coat of Broad Cloth	15-.-.
Cash	20-.-.

	35-.-.

To Meer Ibrahim Shah's Family & Children	
5 Pieces of Pelongs	80-.-.
Knives and Scissors	15-.-.
A Purpet Coat to the Auchun	5-.-.
A Lantern	5-.-.

	105-.-.

ABSTRACT

To the Prince	1045-.-.
To Meer Gholam Aly Khan	849-.-.
To Meer Kurum Aly Khan	735-.-.
To Meer Moorad Aly Khan	735-.-.
To The Queen Dowager	175-.-.
To Mirza Ishmael	170-.-.
To Meer Fukeera	107-.-.
To Paromul Dewan	133-.-.
To Kham Chund Moonshee	92-.-.
To Khyre Mahomed Mehmandar	29-.-.
To Meyvaram	117-.-.
To Gulab Roy	15-.-.

To Jemshid	35-.-.
To Meer Ibrahim Shah's Family	105-.-.

	Rs. 4342-.-.

Charge to the Prince for the Shells	Rs. 6534-:-.
Amount of the Bombay Invoice with an Advance of 30 pr. Cent	3183-.-.

Cleared upon the Supply of the Shells	Rs. 3351-.-.

which sum deduced from the Amount of the Presents and the further sum of Rupees 275-.-.to Paromul Kham Chand & Meyvaram, which was an absolute Due for their Services for some Months the Expence of my visit to the Capital has not on the score of Presents Cost the Company more than Rupes 716-.-. vizt.

Amount of the Acct. Presents	Rs. 4342-.-.
Gain upon my Bill for the Shells	3351-.-.

	991-.-.
The Due above mentioned	275-.-.

Rupees	716-.-.

(Signed) NATHAN CROW

AVERAGE of the of the Quantity & Price of the Following Articles imported at Currachee in one year, calculated upon as near a Security as the Secrecy of the Public Books & Reserve of the Private Merchants will admit -

Quantity in Currachee Mnds of 84 lbs.		Price in Currachee Rs. 15 P % 1 Q than by Rs.		
500	Maunds	12	Rps.	P. Maund
260	-do-	21	-do-	-do-
450	-do-	54	-do-	-do-
200	-do-	31	-do-	-do-
130	-do-	10	-do-	-do-
2500	-do-	161/2	-do-	-do-
250	Tubs.	29	-do-	-do-
6000	Maunds	261/2	-do-	-do-
1000	-do-	14	-do-	-do-
2	-do-	12	-do-	2 Lbs.
6	-do-	6	-do-	-do-
35	-do-	721/2	-do-	34 Lbs.
10	-do-	53	-do-	2 Lbs.
Tatta Mnds. of 84 Lbs.		Sicca Rps. 2 P. % better than by Rps.		
200 vizt.		26	Rps.	pr. 5 Lbs.
		28	Rps.	pr. 5 Lbs.
		27	-do-	-do-

Table P.73

Iron...

Steel..

Plate & Sheet Copper............................

Japan Copper

Tin...

Pig Lead..

Soft Sugar.......................................

Sugar Candy 1st sort)

" " 2nd -do-)

Pepper...

Beetle Nut...

Nutmegs..

Cloves...

Cardamums......................................

Cochineal..

Bengal Raw Silk, consumed)
annualy at Tatta if)
Afghanistan is tranquil)
1st & 2nd sorts together)
Baunkee & Churrah)
1st 2nd 3rd 4th 5th & 6th)
vizt.)
Poor Chuchm Kushtee, Husht)
Chushmeh, Dhaur, Burg)
Dhaur, Poor Dhaur, mixed)

To:

The Honourable Jonathan Duncan Esquire
President and Governor, Bombay.

Honourable Sir,

In the Daily Expectation of the arrival of a Vessel, by the Return of which I might have it in my Power to transmit the Report of my Visit to Hyderabad and the Princes letters & Present to you, I waited till the 27th of May when the Antelope came in; but the weather was too bad and the season too far advanced for her to get off the coast again. At this Time I was under an Engagement to attend the Prince, in the course of a few Days, and I there determined to conclude my Visit and receive his final commands, as he had promised, on the Subject of the Woollens; before I should dispatch Cossids to you; and in this Resolution I was still more confirmed, by some Doubts, which had been started to me, of the Security of the Communication through Cutch Since the Deputation there, which is represented in this Country as having terminated in a Manner that threatened Hostilities.

I left Currachee on the 5th of last Month and reached the Princes hunting Seat, which was about a hundred Miles distant, on the 7th and was entertained by him, with every Mark of Honour, Kindness and Hospitality, for five Days. I visited Meer Gholam Aly Khan, whose Camp was about ten Miles off & had an Interview with the other two Brothers. On the Subject of the Woollens, I found a Proposal had been forwarded to the King and his orders were daily expected. I presented the Prince a Rifle Gun with which he and his Court

were highly delighted. To Meer Gholam Aly Khan I gave the Duck Gun I brought up from Bombay, and Some Powder & Shot & a few Pieces of Muslin & other odd articles constituted the rest of the Gifts: a Score, which cannot altogether be avoided on Such Occasions. The Prince invested me with a handsome Loongee at Parting and ordered one of his Officers with a Troop of Belochees to attend me to Tatta, where, if there were any Articles, which he might probably like, he desired I would Send them, with their Price. Thus Officers Stayed Some of Days with me in the Factory and then returned with a few Articles from the Glass-Ware, which I founded the Prince was not Supplied with. The Prince pressed me Several Times at his Camp to let him know any Business or wishes I might have in view and was a much Surprized as pleased. I believe, at the Disinterestedness of my Declaration that I had no Business in my Visit, but the Honour and Gratification of "attending his Invitation & no wish to express but for the countenance of his Favour." The only Benefits I reaped from this Trip were an Increase of Intimacy, and Extension of my Acquaintance and a closer Insight into the Habits of the Princes, the Nature of the People and the State of the Country.

I was delayed at Tatta, on my Way back, by the Necessity of closing accounts with the Broker, who Served me from the Time of my arrival and who has been mentioned in my former correspondence. This Man, after a Repetition of much Fraud & Faithlessness (besides his Sale to Seyf Duriadney), finding that was inclined to look out for better Services, had the Assurance to follow me to the Princes hunting Seat, Against my positive orders and, in my Face, to carry on a Plan of Bribery and Intrigue amongst the officers of the Court by which to procure a Recommendation or rather appointment of himself from the Prince that might set my approbation at Defiance. Such an

insolent Aim at the authority of the Company or their Resident and at the independence of the Affairs of the factory required. I thought, Serious Notice. The Man was frustrated in his Hopes of gaining the Interference of the Prince, but he prevailed on Mirza Ishmael to open the subject of his employ as Broker; upon which occasion I detailed some Facts of his Knavery and ill-conduct which were too easy of Proof to admit Dispute & then told Mirza Ishmael that "Respect for his Father's Mention of him had made me tolerate the man thus long and if he wished it I would still continue the Sacrifice to that consideration, but that since Meer Ibrahim Shah, as the Patron of the Residency, must be the first Well wisher to its Success, I could not Suppose that He, Himself, would approve the further Services of a Broker who, after a Twelve months' employ, acknowledged that he had been able to establish no Merit of his own, by seeking to borrow it from the Recommendations of other." Mirza Ishmael declared that "so far from intending to bespeak my Countenance of him he had in Friendship to advise me, to trust to no Recommendations whatever but to judge of all Persons and things with my own Eyes and frame my Conduct on my own conviction, without the Bias of Favour or Affection to any One: that his opinion of the Man in Question was not better than my own and that he had taken the Liberty of speaking on this Subject only to get rid of his Importunity: and that I had better discharge him at once." I have followed the Advice, for the Man had neither Honesty not Capacity, but a great Deal of bricking and Intrigue which made him dangerous on considerations.

Should hereafter evince more Partiality for him, than I think he entertains? I have Proofs to show of his Imposition and Mirza Ishmael's concurrence in his Dismission will completely Soften it. I do not myself believe that the

Circumstance requires any Solicitude, but nevertheless I have thought it my Duty to mention it to you.

On my Arrival here from Tatta, which was about a Month ago, I found a Sick House and Soon fell indisposed myself. Since that time I have been harrassed by a painful Eruption and severely distracted by domestic concerns of various kinds, and though I do not presume to offer these circumstances as public Apologies for any Delay of emergent Duty, I respectfully present them to your private Consideration, as an Excuse for my temporary Suspension of Accounts, which finally I trust, will be deemed satisfactory. I am not conscious that the important Points of my Commission are ever an Instant absent from my Mind and, if I fail in Forms or Punctuality I feel that I have many claims to Lenity. I gratefully acknowledge that I have experiences it hitherto & I humbly hope that it will be extended to me longer.

Your Honble Board's commands by the Dingey Ruparel, which imported here the 9th May, I shall do myself the Honor of replying to by the first Sea conveyance. In the meantime I beg leave to forward an Indent, framed upon correct & mature Investigation, for a Quantity of Staples, which may be expected to find a ready Sale and reasonable Profit, if supplied immediately on the opening of the Season, so as to arrive here, before the Importations of the Currachee Merchants of before their Dingeys invest their Cargoes in Bombay. With the advantage of this Start, I am emboldened by all my Calculations and the Assurances of Exertion in the Young Man, whose Petition to your Honble Board to be employed in the Factory as Broker was referred to me and who has every Cause to Strain his Nerves, to pledge myself that the Articles shall yield at least ten and most likely fifteen per cent one with

another. I have the Pleasure to inform you that the Prince has lately sent me an Order for Broad Cloth, to the amount of forty thousand Rupees, to be supplied to Uktur Khan, in consequence of Directions from Ahmed Shah's as you will observe by the Princes Purwanna and Uktur Khan's letter to me on the subject: Translations of which I have the Honour to enclose -- Abul Hussun has been at Currachee ever Since March last and I have now sent him to Hyderabad, with Instructions for the conclusion of this Sale; of which I have no Doubt He will render a Satisfactory Account.

Positive Intelligence has arrived of Zemaun Shah having last Month taken the Field against the Persians with so much Apprehension from their invasion, that He has carried none of his Women with him but has dispatched them (& under charge of the Vizier it is said) to Cabul, not deeming Candahar sufficiently Secure. This circumstance confesses an Alarm that He never betrayed before & is looked upon as a very disastrous Sign. The main Body of Baba Khan's Troops, the Number of which seems doubtful is arrived in the Neighbourhood of Herat & is said to be headed by himself; and a Detachment under Shah Mahmood has appeared in another Part of Khorassan and drawn to its Standard several disaffected Chiefs from Zemaun Shah's Army. Within these three Months Zemaun Shah has spilt much of the blood of his Court and Amongst at least a Dozen of his eminent Nobles, who have been cut off, his former Vizier, Ameer ul Molk, a Character generally beloved, has been included. The Cause of these Executions is a profound Secret to all but the King and his minister who are daily more and more deprecated. The latter it is justly concluded by every body is intent upon elevating himself and without the Attack of the Persians, there is little Doubt, from internal circumstances, that there will be soon some Revolution

in the Afghan Government. Zemaun Shah, they say, paid his Troops ten lacks of Rupees in Specie, before they would consent to march.

I must not omit to mention a circumstance, which would have appeared regular in another Place. I learned at the Prince's Camp that a Vakeel, from the Booslah Marratta at Nagpore had lately arrived, with a rich Present including two Elephants and their Furniture, from that chief to Meer Futteh Aly Khan. Mirza Ishmael told me that the Prince had never had any previous Correspondence with him and was at a loss how to account for such an overture to Acquaintance: which was however very flattering "I observed", and Mirza Ishmael, "Upon his consulting me, that his Connexion with the English would of course, extend his Name & Frâme still further, than it was before." The Vakeel is a Native of Tatta and has been many years in the Service of the Rajah of Nagpore & to promote his private Interest he may have exerted himself to bring about this Intercourse. Thus much is certain, that the Man is a great Favourite & has been distinguished by very frequent and prolonged Audiences.

In transmitting the enclosed from Captain Skinner, I have to charge myself with having been the cause of involving his Dispatches in the Procrastination of my own affairs, which induced me to encourage him, from Day to Day, with the Hope, that I should be able to give him an opportunity of writing. He expects to get the Antelope out on the ensuing or else the Succeeding spring.

I have to present my respectful Acknowledgements of the Favour of your communication of the 21st ultimo, which was brought me yesterday from Surat, by the Return of some

People who I had sent in April last with half a dozen Horses, made up for the Sole Purpose of giving a safe Conveyance to one for Mr. Church, & not for a Commercial Venture as, upon first view, might be concluded. I was anxious to prevent such a false Impression here & threrefore proposed my Intention of sending a favourite Oil Horse to a Friend at Surat, to Mirza Ishmael, who advised me for the sake of safety to add four or five more, that after rendering the Convenience of their Company would pay the Expenses of their Journey and I accordingly bought four from him. I mention this circumstance with so much Solicitude, because I know that my mind has not a Single Object of Interest but the public Duties before me and I deprecate a Supposition so injurious to me, as one to the contrary and which without this Explanation appearances might create.

I have related the Circumstances of the Revolution in the Administration at Surat in a proper Manner to two or three People, who will, I know, report them to the Prince. The Event will at first raise some unfavourable Comments, for which the people of this Country are promptly prepared, by the Inculcations they have formerly received from Tippoo's Emissaries of our Aim at the overthrow of Mahomedan Power and the Establishment of our own Sovereignty. Some accounts of Disturbances in our new Territories have reached Sind and though neither authentic nor distinct are enjoyed with much Relish. I was somewhat surprised, when I was last at Hyderabad, to find that not only the Circumstances of Vizier Aly's Rebellion from his Shocking Massacre of Mr. Cherry, were correctly and connectedly known at the Darbar, but that his progress had been followed with all the lively Interest, that a Hero could merit and his captivity been heared of with corresponding Regret.

I beg to render in the most respectful manner my acknowledgements of the Honour done to my Request, in allowing a cruizer to convey my Family to this Place, and I sincerely regret the very great Inconvenience it has caused by the Detention of the Antelope in this Bay.

I have the Honour to be with Respect, Honble Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant.

(Signed) NATHAN CROW

CURRACHEE
31st July 1800

TRANSLATION of a Purwanna from Meer Futteh Aly Khan dated the 28th of June.

To Mr. Crow Englishman, with compliments. At this Time an order has arrived from the King for Superfine and Second Cloth, to the Amount of forty Thousand Rupees; for the Purchase of which, his collector, Uktur Khan, was on the Point of Departing for Tatta, but, in order to be first satisfied on the Subject. He has sent a man to you, by whom you will write in a kind Manner, that he may come to Tatta and choose the Goods for which, to the Amount of forty thousand Rupees, I shall repay you.

TRANSLATION of a letter from Uktur Khan dated the 30th of June.

Your Letter, formerly sent, has been with the different Articles accompanying duly received and given me infinite

Pleasure. At this time an order has arrived from his Majesty for Superfine and Second Cloth and other Things to the Amount of one Lack of Rupees to be purchased and got ready by me and the Prince, Meer Futteh Aly Khan, has given me an Order on you as far as forty or fifty Thousand Rupees; but, as you and I are on Terms of Friendship and Intimacy with each other I would not depart to Tatta lest you might have objection to the order and Perplexity ensue to both of us. If you are agreeable to accept the order, let me know, that I may set off from Hyderabad and you from Currachee and both of us meet at Tatta and consult. Send me, if you please, what Musters of cloth you have and their Prices that I may dispatch them to Candahar and the different Articles I took the Liberty of writing to you about before be kind enough not to forget, I will thank you likewise to put me in a way of getting a Quantity of Courier, to the amount of two thousand Rupees for the King's Camels. Write me your welfare and consider me your Sincere Friend; for I assure you in undertaking this Commission my object has been Solely, an occasion for coming to Tatta and having an Interview with you.

Translations.
(Signed) NATHAN CROW

PRESENTS made on my visiting the Prince in June at his Camp at Keyral.

To Meer Futteh Aly Khan

A rifle gun	300-.-.
A Pocket Telescope	50-.-.
4 Pieces of Bengal Muslin	160-.-.
4 Plated Chargers	28-.-.

A Plated Mug with gilt Inside	20-.-.
6 Enamelled Mugs	30-.-.
4 Canisters of Gun Powder	40-.-.
2 Bags of Shot	14-.-.
1 Nest of China Boxes	20-.-.
Gun Flints	5-.-.

	667-.-.

Meer Gholam Aly Khan

A long Gun	200-.-.
4 Pieces of Bengal Muslin	160-.-.
4 Canister of Gun Powder	40-.-.
4 Bags of small Shot	28-.-.
2 Plated chargers	14-.-.
1 Small China Box	6-.-.
1 Tub of Sugar Candy	25-.-.
Gun Flints	3-.-.

	476-.-.

Meer Kurum Aly Khan

2 Turbans of Muslin	70-.-.
2 Canister of Gun Powder	20-.-.
2 Bags of Shop	14-.-.

	104-.-.

To Meer Moorad Aly Khan

A watch	70-.-.
2 Pieces of Muslin	60-.-.

	130-.-.

Mirza Ishmael

1 Spying Glass	30-.-.
1 Tub of Sugar Candy	25-.-.
4 China Malts	20-.-.
1 China Box	6-.-.
3 Bags of Shot	21-.-.
3 Canisters of Powder	30-.-.
1 Lanthern	5-.-.
2 Tumblers	2-.-.

	139-.-.

Urzee, the officer who returned with me to Tatta

1 Coat of Superfine Cloth	35-.-.
2 Coats of Common Cloth	30-.-.
Cash for his & his Peoples Expences	75-.-.
Scissors, knives, Razors	25-.-.

	165-.-.

Distributed in various Gifts to
the Princes and Mirza Ishmael Servants
who attended upon me 111-.-.

ABSTRACT

To the Prince	667-.-.
Meer Gholam Aly Khan	476-.-.
Meer Kurum Aly Khan	104-.-.
Meer Moorad Aly Khan	130-.-.
Mirza Ishmael	139-.-.
Urzee	165-.-.
Cash, distributed	111-.-.
Rups	1792-.-.

(Signed) NATHAN CROW

INDENT of MERCHANDIZE for the the Currachee Factory to be dispatched before the Vessels of that Port can return with Cargoes from Bombay or other wise to be only half complied with

Iron	20 Tons.
Steel	4 Tons.
Plate Tin	4 Tons.
Pig Lead	4 Tons.
Sheet Copper	3 Tons.
Plate Copper	3 Tons.
Japan Copper	3 Tons.
	41 Tons.

(Signed) NATHAN CROW

Currachee
31st July 1800.

To:

The Honble Jonathan Duncan, Esquire
President and Governor, Bombay.

Honble Sir,

At a Moment when I was anticipating the Opening of the Communication by sea and the satisfaction which the Reports of my increasing Intimacy with this jealous Government, the Pleasing Prospect of its ripening confidence in the British connexion and the additional Indulgences granted out of Respect to it, would convey, I have received, suddenly and without the smallest Preparation, a Purwanna from the Prince, dissolving the Establishment at Currachee and directing me, immediately without fail or Delay, to render myself and Dependents at Tatta and limit my Residence and concerns to the Place. This order I received on the 15th Instant, along with two Letters, one from Mirza Ishmael and the other from Abul Hussun, whom I had sent up, with the Musters of the Woolens, to Hyderabad, of these Documents I have the Honour to enclose both copies and tanslations. As it appeared from their contents and some severe Instruction, which has been issued to the commandant of Currachee, that any Evasion or Hesitation would only risk some serious Indignity to the Resident and Honourable Company's Name I resolved it, on that account and every view of the Nature of my Appointment, most prudent to manifest implicit and ready Obedience to the Summons.

The Day succeeding the arrival of the Purwanna, the Rain was so excessive & inundating, that it was not possible to do anything for it's encroachments, the Day after the Weather

cleared a little and I Hastily, packed up and Secured my Papers and a few Clothes and made Arrangements for my Departure. The civil Governor requested that I would remain the next Day and Deliver to him some commission, for which the Princes had written to me, about a week before. To shew my complasance to the Dewan, who from his character and conduct to me, well deserved it and to present my general Respect to all Matters regarding the Princes I complied. The Day following, which was the 19th I mounted my Horse, leaving Mr. Durham, who was unwell and unable to travel and every unnecessary Incumbrance, & after a Severe Journey of four Days, through a deluged & almost impracticable country, and a continual Vicissitude of heavy Showers and scorching Sunshine, arrived, without any Serious accident, at this Place on the 23rd Instant.

Of the cause of this abrupt, unqualified &, when the Juncture is considered, I may add, brutal order of the Prince, I can afford little more Light, than the accompanying Letters, but what has come to my knowledge from other Sources, and Some of them deserving of great confidence, I shall relate.

The Dewan of Currachee, who is of a very Sensible respectable & friendly character & high in he Princes Favour came to my House before I left it & told me as a Secret upon which I might reply, but of which He begged that I would never quote him as the Author, that the Vakeel (mentioned by me in a former Letter), who had lately arrived with Letters and a present from the Boonsla chief at Nagpore, had filled the Prince's Ears with formidable Stories of our insidious, encroaching Native and Designs, from our first getting a Footing in India. The King, Zemaun Shah, had likewise, he

said, Severely expostulated with the Prince for admitting us into his territories, without his Permission.

Hajy Omer, one of the first Merchants at Tatta who is greatly intimate at the Durbar and who has professed and Shewn me always much Friendship, was just returned from Hyderabad to Currachee before I left it. He assured me that the Prince had been assailed by letters from Candahar, the Rajahs of Hindoostan, Meer Sorab (whose division of Sind I have formerly pointed out), Futteh Mahomed at Cutch and the Muscat Government, all remonstrating with him for admitting us and warning him of the consequence of giving us Footing on the Coast. These repeated Admonitions Strengthened by the News of our having taken Possession of Surat and backed by the disaffected or prejudiced Part of the Durbar had so worked upon the Princes Minds, that they were perfectly panick-struck and thought every Messenger was bringing an account that the English had taken Currachee.

Abul Hussun, who has met me here corroborates the above Circumstances and the Description of the State of the princes. They are in a Tremble, he says, at their own temerity and all Impatience to know that Currachee is cleared of the English. Meer Gholam Aly Khan (and the younger Brothers the same) was, he represents, like a Man Suffocating with the heavy Oppression of his Tears and begging in piteous and positive Strain, that every Dispatch might be used towards getting the factory from Currachee,for the pain of Alarm was no longer Supportable. Abul Hussun tells me that the Prince Meer Futteh Aly Khan opposed the Extremity and felt for his Engagements, recapitulated the fair and honourable Manner in which our Establishment had been introduced; the Distinctions you had Shewn him; the Confidence upon which you had

deputed me; the great attention I had paid him and the uniform Satisfaction I had given to every one; and added, that his Beard was pledged and he no longer could render Answer to you or look me in the Race. From Abul Hussun I further learn, that we Want of Unanimity among the Brothers was one cause of Delay, in the Resolution of Summoning me, and, when they had adopted it, their calculations of the effect of the Purwanna were not free from great anxiety. Meer Futteh Aly Khan lamented that the Purwanna would be a lasting Proof of his contradiction of his own engagements and that I should perhaps hand it to you. Another Brother anticipated that I should leave the Place in Resentment and Disgust and go to Bombay, very likely. A third supposed, that a Ship sent by you to take Currachee would be the first ànswer to the Abolition of the Factory, with many other conjectures, that always ended in the greater Hope & Persuasion that I would conform to their Injunction.

The Merchants of Currachee particularly Duriadney, whose Patron in Mer Kurum Aly Khan (& amongst all the Princes was Singularly Strenuous for the withdrawal of the Factory) have been, I understand, from every body, active in adding their efforts to effect the overthrow of our Establishment. The Princes too, I am told & it is very likely, have always wished our Factory and concerns to be confined to Tatta, from a Hope that they might tend to restore the decayed Trade of that Place.

The Uncivilized Temper of the Princes, their limited Understandings, their Impatience of any Pressure on their Minds, their Recoil at the Labour of Thought, added to the Confusion of their own Voices and those of their different Adherents, their general System of Accommodation to each

other, and at the same Time, their Separate Interests, views and Prejudices, in pursuing which, they have each a distinct action, make it difficult to ascertain correctly the real Springs of their Measure; but, on the present occasion, I have little or no Doubt of all the circumstances, I have before detailed and am only at a Loss to decide which it is, that, like the last addition in a Scale, has turned the Balance of their Judgments and determined them to the Extremity of confessing their Fears & recalling the English from Currachee. The Resolution, Abul Hussun assures me, was evidently, on their countenances and manner, an act of Desperation, that they had Recourse to with Regret. The Prince Meer Futteh Aly Khan acknowledged his shame and Disgrace and both He and Meer Gholam Aly Khan were Studious to give the communication of it the softest Tone possible and enjoined him, Abul Hussun, to convey it to me in the Manner least likely to offend and to request my compliance as an act of Friendship which would rivet their confidence for ever and entitle me to any Return they could possible make.

It is not in my Power to render more exact Information, than that which I have had the Honour of detailing, without an Interview with the Prince, for which I shall apply, as Soon as He may return to Hyderabad. On this occasion I shall be particularly circumspect not to transgress the Bounds of my Station by receiving any Apologies or compensations, which I am not qualified to accept or by being guilty of any Supererogation which may interfere with your Resolves; but I shall think it my Duty to require an explicit Declaration from the Prince of the Causes of his Infraction of Engagements which he had formally given under his hand and seal., which have been handed to the Honble Company and upon the strength of which they have incurred much expence. I shall, without interrupting the just operations of his Fears for the

Issue of his conduct, preserve the same Spirit of Goodwill and conciliation, with which you deputed me; & keep the affair in such an Equipoize, as to be equally Susceptible of an hostile or amicable conclusion, as your Superior Wisdom and Policy may hereafter determine. After Scrubulously tracing the real Motives of his Dismission of the factory from Currachee I shall, if I find that it has been the consequence of Apprehensions of the King's Resentment Strive, within the Scope of my Instructions, to incite him to resist the Authority; & if it has resulted from the combined Representations of other Powers, I shall request to be permitted to see the Letters and endeavour to refute their malice and put the Alliance of the English, compared with the Faith and ability of these Friends, in a Striking Light to his own Interest. If it has proceeded from his own Alarms, I shall quote the earnest Manner in which I myself sought to dispel them and the Propriety there would have been in his appeal to your Friendship to indulge him, before he look to violence a Step (sic) as a peremptory Recall of the establishment. Finally should I find, which I rather fear, that it has proceeded from an unconquerable Inveteracy of Prejudice against the English as a Nation, and an aversion from having us in the Country, in any Place or on any Terms I shall not fail to state the fact, as early as I ascertain it. It at least appears, that the Princes expect, we should consider our Establishment on Toleration and Subject to instant Dissolution, whenever their Caprice may dictate it; and as this Temper was one Day or other to be felt, it is well perhaps, that the Experience has come early, for it might have happened at a future Period, with much more vexation and Serious Injury to the Honble Company's Affairs. Whether it be possible to fix the Confidence of this Government or necessary to give up all Hopes from it will be now brought to an Issue.

Four Principal Queries have presented themselves to my Mind on Receipt of the Princes order.

Firstly

Why no Intimation of the Subject to me, when at my two late visite to the Prince, I so fairly invited it.

This is answered by Mirza Ishmael, Mirza Mahomed (his Brother-in-law who is with me) & by Abul Hussun thus: that Mirza Ishmael was always hopeful of overcoming the Subject and had neither authority at one Time nor Inclination another to disturb me with it & Meer Futteh Aly Khan's Reluctance silenced the rest of the Brothers.

Secondly

Why the Precise Juncture of the Issue of it?

Abul Hussun thinks and I agree with him, that either the Revolution at Surat has given new Force to the Princes Fears or Some Peremptory Admonition, lately arrrived from Candahar, left him little Room for Delay. If the Ingredients of Suspicion and alarm have been so long working, the exact crisis of Ferment is not however Matter of any wonder of much inquiry.

Thirdly

Why the Expedition is so rudely & Indecently enjoined?

The Princes are represented from good Authorities, in a Tremor of Apprehension & Meer Gholam Aly told Mirza

Ishmael, "that the Juncture was arrived, he was sure, and that the Faith of the English would soon be seen," on this Question I suspect that some of the Merchants of Currachee or rather Duriadney himself has been fabricating some Specious Stories of Designs in the English, and that the Opening of the Season has been represented as favourable to support a Seizure of the Place (which was certainly practicable by the crew of the Antelope and the Factory Establishment). Abul Hussun says that all but the Eldest Prince, firmly believed that Currachee would be lost and could only be satisfied by seeing me render myself as a Hostage for its Security.

Fourthly

Why Such Provision at the same Time against the Future?

This at least betrays more than immediate Alarm and if more Seriously intended, then merely to give Some colour of Solemnity to the Summons of me to Tatta, proceeds, in my opinion, from some positive Order of the King's or a Systematic Design in the Princes to drive us from the country altogether: a supposition not the least probable.

I have forgotten to mention, that the second Day after my Receipt, at Currachee, of the Prince's Purwanna, my People were stopped at the Gates of the Fort and told that the Admission of any of the English Dependents was forbidden; and the Commandant obliged me at Noon, to withdraw the Sepoys from the factory and leave the Property in it without the Guard of a Single Man Indian or Sindian and did not scruple to declare, that, unless I speedily retired of my own accord. He should be under a necessity of forcing me away by

prohibiting any Supplies in the Market and picking a Pretence for coming to Blows.

As the extraordinary and unjustifiable Breach of Faiths and Terms with the English has been committed by the Prince in a Manner So public as too (sic) add Insult to Injury and hold out an example of Audacity threatening to other of the Honble Company's Establishments; and, as much expense has absolutely been incurred in the procuring of, and a confidence in, his Sunnuds, it may perhaps be deemed politic by you, if not to inflict Punishment, at least, to demand Reimbursement. The first might with Facility be effected by taking Currachee, and the Second by merely stopping its Harbour for a Season. If the Friendship of the Prince be the more desirable Object and deserving of every Sacrifice, this Occasion passed over must attach it for ever, it should be supposed. The Single Factory of Tatta may be maintained at a reduced expence: about two hundred bales of Bengal Raw Silk may be sold annually, a Small Quantity of Staples and Spices, and the Prospect on the Score of Woolens will be identically the same. The Advantages to be derived from seizing so Fair an Occasion as now presents itself of getting Currachee into our own Possession, compared with the most Sanguine expectations to be entertained from this Government form in my humble Opinion, a most important Calculation, which I respectfully leave to adequate Wisdom.

It is with much Pleasure I report, that the Antelope by the great Exertion and good Management of Captain Skinner got over safely over the Bar of Currachee on the 22nd Instant, three Days after I left the Place, and Stood on her course to Bussora.

I shall do myself the Honour of giving you the earliest Intelligence from Hyderabad and request that by the first opportunity after Receipt of this Letter, you will favour me with a discretionary Power to come down to the presidency, should I find it necessary or eligible.

I have the Honour to be, with Respect, Honble Sir,

Your most obedient Humble servant.

(Signed) NATHAN CROW

Tatta
26th August 1800.

P.S. 28th August. An unpleasant and uncommon circumstance has happened Yesterday to the Monnshee, the Broker and some of my People, who were following me with a Tent and other Articles, which I was not able to bring with me from Currachee. They were suddenly, beset on the Road, in broad Day, by no less than a dozen well mounted Horsemen, who cut them down and plundered them of every thing amongst the rest two Small Boxes, with all my Persian Correspondence, accounts and other valuable Papers, which, in consequence of the Badness of the Weather, I left in charge of the Moonshee, bringing with me one Scrutoire only, in which however I have got fortunately all the Princes Purwannas and his last Letters to you. The Moonshee has narrowly escaped with his Head, the Broker I am affraid will lose his left Hand and one of the Sepoys his life. I have written to Hyderabad and to Jam Moorad, the Jokia Chief, in whose District it happened and taken other Measures for tracing the Thieves, and have well founded Hopes of recovering the

Papers at least. There were near Six hundred Rupees of the Company's Cash in the Broker's Box and Some valuable ornaments of his own. This is the first Robbery of such a magnitude that has been known Some Time and I shall not find cause to believe that it has not been accidental. The Plunderers passed my People once and Said they were Troops going to Currachee.

(Signed) NATHAN CROW

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a Purwanna from Futteh Aly Khan to the Resident dated 20th of Rubbee ul Uwul A.H. 1215 or 12th of August 1800.

As in the Reign of the Kulhoras and former times, the English Factories were at Tatta & Shah Bunder and the Ships coming and going with English Cargoes, always imported at Kukrala, in the same manner as has been revived by your Deputation; now likewise according to the usage, in the Time of the Kulhoras, the coming and going of Vessels with Cargo and the Establishment of the Factories at Tatta and Shah Bunder is allowed, therefore we write, that the coming and going of your Vessels to and from Currachee be discontinued and that they import as formerly at Kukrala and that you take the Factory at Currachee away, with yourself and the Merchandize and come come to the Factory at Tatta and pursue your Trade, as will be more diffusely made known to you by the writing of Mirza Ishmael. It is proper that according to our Order your Ships import at Kukrala and your Factories, according to former Practice, be kept up at Tatta and Shah

Bunder & that yourself should stay at Tatta. You will consider this order peremptory.

A True Translation.
(Signed) NATHAN CROW

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Mirza Mahomed Ishmael to the Resident, dated the 20th, of Rubbee ul Uwul. A.H. 1215 or 12th of August 1800.

Be it not concealed from my Friend that for these Seven or Eight Months past, interested People, from the Right and left, have made many Representations at the Durbar inimical to your Affairs and the Prince commanded me to think of some Means, by which they might be provided against. Your Friend every Time replied that it was better to Suppress the Subject but, as from foreign Places, Such as the King's Court & Friends distant and near, Letters have arrived, in Succession, warning "that the Establishment of the English at Currachee will be a Cause of Rependence and that the Friendship of that Nation is never free from Design and Fraud." The Prince again and again enjoined me to find out some remedy and I was agitated within myself, how to introduce and explain the matter to you when news reached me that Abul Hussun has arrived at Tatta and on his way here, by your Order, with Musters of the Woollens, I there fore delayed the Matter a few Days.As soon as he arrived at Hyderabad I carried him to the Presence and laid the Patterns before the Prince; the next Day again, at another Audience, he had an opportunity of paying his Respects: the third Time the Prince and Meer Gholam Aly Khan fully explained the above Subject to him and ordered me

to write it to you and a Purwanna is likewise issued to you from the Prince. My Friend! it must be clear that Obedience to this order of the Prince is most eligible and the best for your Affairs. In the Purwanna mentioned, it is specified, that, in the Region of Kulhoras and former Times, the English Factories were always at Shah Bunder and Tatta and the Importation of Ships with English Cargoes was at Kukrala: at this time likewise it is so fixed, that immediately on the arrival of the Purwanna, you with the Surgeon and all your Dependents, come to Tatta and form your Factory & whenever you may choose to eastablish one at Shah Bunder the Prince permits you. You will write to Bombay that the Importation of Vessels with Merchandize, must be at Kukrala & Daraja and at Currachee no Englishman must stay; but all come to Tatta and take up their Residence there: but should any Hindoo Gomaushtah Stay at Currachee for the Purpose of Trade it is not Matter. This Permission is not yet granted by the Prince, but, after your coming to Tatta and setting there, your Affairs will be accommodated in a handsome Manner. You will no Doubt conform to the Prince's order and not deviate in any Respect and if, which God forbid: you should shew any Neglect or Delay, nothing will ensue from it but what will be degrading and unpleasant; as Abul Hussun will, of his own accord, relate what he has heard the Princes. The Musters of Broad Cloth the Prince sent to Uktur Khan, the King's Collector, who said that he would take them and send them to the Vizier, that, after his choice and order, the Purchase might be made; but Abul Hussun would not give them without your concurrence, but will carry them back. I hope you will afterwards send them, that they may be given to Uktur Khan to despatch to the Vizier and get his answer, that this Transaction may afterwards be concluded.

P.S. My Friend! God Knows that I feel great Shame in this Affair and used every Endeavour to Stifle it, but, as from all Sides, Successively, People have beset the Prince with these Suggestions till this Suspicion is roused, there is no Help at this Time. Every thing nevertheless is well and you ought to come to Tatta and make no delay at Currachee, for it is not adviseable: and Vessels must not come to Currachee, for they will not be permitted. Please God, when you arrive, amongst other Things, you may be allowed, through a Hindoo Agent, to send Merchandize to Currachee, but at present, besides quitting it, there is no Alternative. If you cannot bring your Goods come yourself and send for them afterwards. Think of this, for it is for the best.

A True Translation.

(Signed) NATHAN CROW.

No. 3.

TRANSLATION of a letter from Aga Abul Hussun to the Resident, dated the 20th of Rubbee ul Uwul A.H. 1215 or 12th of August 1800.

Respecting the Broad Cloth, Second Cloth and Purpets it is finally Settled that the Musters must be sent to the Vizier for his Approval. I replied that I would write to you and, if you ordered it, send them afterwards from Tatta to Hyderabad. Further the story is this, that they are much dissatisfied with your being at Currachee and have for a long time remonstrated with Mirza Ishmael on the Subject and directed him to write.

He endeavoured if possible to put the matter out of their heads; but could not succeed; and lately they told him to send for me from Currachee and explain to me, that I might go and inform you. Accidentally my Note from Tatta to Mirza Ishmael reached him about this Time and after three Days I arrived myself, every day this Subject is repeated. Yesterday, Meer Gholam Ali Khan sent for Mirza Ishmael and myself in private, and said, "Since the Time the English Factory has been established at Currachee every one, from every Side, Poonah and Hindoostan, writes that you have vainly given the English a Footing in your Country and that too on the Sea Coast.I have been during this Time uneasy and agitated. Now if they wish for my Friendship and to be in my Country, they must move their Effects and come and stay at the Tatta Factory and whenever any Ship may come from Bombay they must either import at Shah Bunder or Lahory Bunder & neither ship or Englishman must ever come to Currachee nor stay there nor be there. I shall then be easy, though I know they have no Fraud in view." He likewise said, that there must be no Factory at Currachee nor any Body there nor any transactions. At length Mirza Ishmael Said that Abul Hussun perhaps might remain there, but He would not consent to it. He said that one "Hindoo Servant might be there for the Business of the Place and Merchandize might be Sent from Shah Bunder and Lahory Bunder to Currachee and if required he would reduce the customs, in no other Way was his Mind to be Satisfied." I made many Replies but He ordered me not to speak on the Subject but hear what He said and report it to you. I answered be pleased yourself to write; Mirza Ishmael as well as myself said a Number of Things in this Interview. Meer Gholam Aly Khan ordered that postively without delay, you should move from Currachee that he might be set at Rest; or else He should entertain still greater Doubts. My good Sir! All the four

Brothers are of one voice in this Business and their Alarm is no less than that something is to take Place on the opening of this Season. Meer Gholam Aly Khan directed that you should quickly leave Currachee, that the Friendship of the English might be proved to him and that if you should hesitate to quit Currachee, he should then be of Opinion that they had views and all his Suspicions would be confirmed. Today, which is the 20th of the month, a Purwanna is written, that they may deliver it to me & tomorrow or next day please God shall come to Tatta, because I am taking Physic. They were importunate with me to write directly. I replied, I would not write but they might; and I retained this Cossid that, unknown to any one, I might dispatch him to you. Soomwar is with me whom I shall send off from Tatta. The Prince likewise said that the Vizier had repeatedly written to him why He had given the English a Footing. Mirza Mahomed Knows this Circumstance but Mirza Ishmael desired him not to tell you till He could see what was to be done. The Purwanna is given this Day to Mirza Ishmael to be enclosed in this letter and delivered to me and the Princes are departed on their Excursion. I have resolved to send Soomwar and myself please God, if I receive a letter from you, on my arrival at Tatta, will attend you for Mirza Ishmael, at going away, Said that the Injunction of the Prince was not to be treated lightly which had ordered that I should repair with all possible Dispatch to Currachee that you might get in motion.

A True Translation

(Signed) NATHAN CROW

To:

The Honble Jonathan Duncan Esquire,
President and Governor, Bombay.

Honble Sir,

I had the Honour of addressing you, the Day before yesterday & now renew my Respects in Order to present you two letters, which I have since received from Mirza Mahomed Ishmael. The first, which was brought in the Morning, was evidently written before he heard from me, the Second was in answer to a short Note which I wrote to him on the 25th Instant merely saying "that I had come up to Tatta, in Conformity with the Summons of the Prince, & to give his Mind still further Relief & Confound Malice, had desired the Commander of the Antelope to make every Exertion to get the Vessel over the bar, if possible which, with imminent Risk to the Honble Company's Property, I was happy to say, had been effected: that this Note was despatched to give him the Intelligence & that in a day or two I should reply to the Prince's Purwanna & to his letter accompanying it." Captain Skinners exertions were all his own Merit, for he was not under my orders, but there was justifiable Policy in converting them into an Obligation on the Prince & likewise in delaying any clear reply to his Purwanna, as it left time for Reflection & Anxiety.

The letters herewith transmitted at least shew that the Prince's Mind is much satisfied & that he is desirous of making every Apology for his Suspicions & rude Conduct; but I may venture to say, they do not express half his real uneasiness. The whole Country cries out against his Behaviour, on this late Occasion & the Merchants of Currachee feel no little Fear for

the Issue of it they will no doubt be very Assiduous to discover, through their Agents in Bombay, the Turn Affairs are likely to take & I have respectfully to request that you will shew them some Frowns; for I am strongly assured from several Authentic Channels, that amidst other causes of the Princes panic and perhaps the greatest, he has been assailed for some time past by a Bund(sic) of Conspirators to overturn the Currachee Establishment & that these were different Officers of the Court Commanding his Ear & retained for the purpose by Duriadney & other Merchants, who came up to Hyderabad, in April last, when I was there to celebrate a wedding & when the Combination, it is said, was formed & thus Matured: that from the Right and Left, at different times, and every possible Occasion, the alarm, was to be resounded of some treachery to be feared from the English at Currachee. At last the approach of the Season & the expiration of the Princes Patience drove him in a Torture of Mind, to the desperate step of abolishing the Establishment.

I have no doubt that the Prince will be arduous to render every Satisfaction in his Power and that he will send a respectable Deputation to you & make other public Apologies for his public affront. I shall offer my Services to him as a pacific Mediator & in case of him accepting them, request to be furnished with your permission to accompany his Vakeel, but, I am disposed to think that the Prince will prefer my remaining. Although my private Affairs make me extremely desirous of visiting the Presidency I can safely assure you that the Consideration will never make me lose sight of the duty, I owe to my public employ. I wish to have your sanction to my Coming down, merely that, should it be eligible at any Moment, there may be no delay.

The Prince, I just learn from Mirza Ishmael, has issued the Most positive Directions for apprehending the Banditti who plundered my people and expressed the deepest Concern at the incident I am informed Moorad is active on the other side, & through some of their Exertions, I hope to recover both the Property and Papers.

I have the honour to be with Respect, Honble

Sir,

Your most Obedient humble servant.

(Signed) NATHAN CROW

Tatta
30th August 1800.

No. 1.

TRANSLATION of a letter from Mirza Ishmael to the Resident without Date received the 29th August 1800, about 8 A.M.

My good Friend! it will not be concealed from your worthy Mind, that some time before this I made several Communications with my own Pen and through Abul Hussun, which no doubt have reached you. In Camp & on your return here I have remonstrated much & as at length brought things to this Conclusion that, if you approve you should come here & have a Meeting with the Prince, settle several Affairs anew & be dismissed with honours. I think this is the best for Several reasons, & for the past Affairs God knows, that I have felt &

do feel more Shame than words Can express & for this Reason I omit no proper opportunity of speaking on the Subject. I trust, that please God, the faces of your Enemies will very soon become black & confounded & the Hearts of your Friends joyful; therefore, if you think of coming yourself, let me know that I may send you a Purwanna from the Prince, inviting you that you Come, and everything will turn out happily. I was going to dispatch a Cossid on purpose to you but take the advantage of one going. I hear that you are safely arrived at Tatta which is very fortunate: your coming up with such Readiness will overwhelm your Enemies with Confusion. Finally every thing is well.

A True Translation.

(Signed) NATHAN CROW

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a letter from Mirza Ishmael to the Resident, dated the 7th of Rubbee ul Sany, A.H. 1215 or 28th of August 1800. Received the 29th at 3 P.M.

A.C.

Be it known to your friendly Mind, that on the Morning of Yesterday, the 6th of Rubbee ul Sany, upon my return from the Durbar, Soomwar, Cossid arrived with your kind letter, the Contents of which were understood be my afflicted heart, and the Circumstances of the ill behaviour of the Commandant & Collector I have learned from his mouth. God knows I felt more Concern & Regret at the Rehearsal than I can describe. In the first place the first Circumstances which befell you at

Currachee caused me excessive Concern & these new ones over added increased my Grief: however whatever is, is for the best. Your speedy arrival at Tatta, in Compliance with the Princes Summons and despatching the Grab from Currachee to Bombay are highly right & proper. On Thursday the 7th of the Month, in the Morning, after Coming to the Durbar I related in the Presence, with suitable words, The Circumstances of the ill Behaviour of the Officers of the Currachee & of your Coming up yourself to Tatta. When called in private I repeated the Story, in a Variety of Proper Phrase, till the Prince himself likewise was worked to Regret and Compassion, & to this Determination that you should come to the Presence, be honoured with a Meeting & exalted by Favours and after the adjustment of Business according to the Objects of your Mind, that you should be allowed speedily to return with the Accomplishment of your wishes, that people, far and near, observing the distinction conferred upon you, the Eyes of your Enemies should become blind & those of your Friends Gladened. Please God the ebbed Waters will come back with a flood & the Adjustment of all Matters be in a Conformity with your wishes. My good friend, it is not concealed from you, that for a long time past Several people from every side have made Representations to the Prince injurious to your Situation & the Prince therefore out of just Regard to his own possession and indispensable Vigilance, directed me to find some Remedy for the business; in answer I always endeavoured, in a suitable manner, to divert the Subject, till at length & by degrees the Affairs went to the extremity it has, but I am hopeful from the divine Grace, that when you arrive, all Matters will be very fortunate. If you approve the Proposition I have written, I hope you will Speedily come, & in that Case, when you are ready, I beg that you will first dispatch a Cossid,* before you depart yourself, as it is particularly eligible. Besides what I have

mentioned above, I told the Prince, "that the History of the Ill behaviour which had been shewn to your Nation, would reach the Ears of the Governor & what would he say? Would not be asked what is become of the Friendship which had been established between us & it would be the cause of much disgust it is therefore eligible, after Mr. Crow's Arrival at your Presence, that you send a Vakeel to the Governor with Horses & other Articles worthy of a Present, that the former Friendship between you may be increased." The Prince heard all this with very Serious Attention & please God after your Arrival a happy Adjustment will take place.

A True translation

(Signed) NATHAN CROW

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* (Some matter inadvertently omitted. A.B.A.) That a Purwanna may be sent from the Prince to Call you to Court & that People may know that you have been invited by the Prince; you will certainly, I trust, sent a Cossid.

To:

The Honble Jonathan Duncan Esquire,
President and Governor, Bombay.

Honble Sir,

By a Messenger, who arrived at Hyderabad, a short Time ago, from Khorassan, News was brought, that Baba Khan had sent a manifesto to Zemaun Shah, explaining the Purpose of his Coming to be the Assistance (sic) of Shah Mehmood who had taken refugee with him & whom He could not therefore in Honor desert; & that if he would relinquished Herat and its Dependencies for his Provision, he had no Qurrel with him & should turn his Arms against the Uzbegs: but that if he refused the Proposition, he wished him to appoint a Field & let Force decide, since persuasion failed. Baba Khan had placed no less a Number, the messenger says, that forty thousand troops under Shah Mehmood & allotted ten thousand more to the son of one of the Nobles of Eminence, named Paidar (sic) Khan (cut of) (sic) lately, as I have had the honor of reporting, by Zemaun Shah who was transferred his Allegiance to Shah Mehmood. Intelligence is just arrived that an Accommodation has taken place & that Zemaun Shah, who was about five or six Stages from Herat, is upon his Return. I am promised Particulars as soon as they are received. The King has sent a Khelat to Meer Futteh Aly Khan & wrote to him, in inflated Language, that his approach had, alone, struck Terror into the Persians and disposed them to sue for Peace, the Prince illuminated Hyderabad on receipt of the News, though it is not much believed; & if true, is more a Source of Sorrow that of Joy to him. He will now be obliged to make good the Commission of Woollens to Uktur Khan.

Should you be pleased to accept the Prince's Apologies for the Past you will Certainly Afford the sincerest Proofs, and to his Conviction, I think of the Friendship of your Disposition towards him, & in that case, I respectfully Conceive, that much of former Delicacy mightly be dispensed with and your Opening Correspodence with the Viziers highly eligible, especially as through the means of Uktur Khan, it may be much promoted it is not too late to acknowledge, with some Excuses for the delay the letter which Aga Cossim brought down in October last & which I had the Honour of forwarding; & the Reply may be returned by the same Messenger.

The Prince is taking the most active steps to apprehend the plunderers of my baggage & sent the Nawob of Tatta down at a Moment's Warning, to be Alert in his Province, & give me every Satisfaction that the things shall be forthcoming. A Barge likewise is on its way, I hear to bring me up to Hyderabad.

I have the honour to be with respect,

Honble, Sir,

Your Most Obedient Humble Servant

(Signed) NATHAN CROW

Tatta 31st of
August 1800.

To:

Nathan Crow Esquire,
Resident at Sind.

Sir,

On the 18th Instant, the Dingey named Puttun, imported here from Currachee, after a Passage of Ten days, and the Cranny Feeruf, in the Service of the House of firm of Duriadney delivered to me your Several letters of the 7th of May, 31st of July, 26th, 30th & 31st of August.

2nd.

I had great Satisfaction in the perusal of the first of these Letters, as conveying the clearest Information of the marked Success of your Endeavour towards ensuring the Ends of your Mission, as well in it's Commercial as political objects, & I shall hereafter communicate to you how far we may be able (should other Circumstances render it advisable) to fulfill the Ameer's Expectations in respect to the Superiority of that part of our Artillery practice which has relation to the throwing of Shells.

3rd.

The Deputation to Cutch, was altogether of a Commercial nature & of no greater Import or Consequence than to continue on behalf of the restored Rajah of Myssore, the factory which the late Government of that Country had established there; to which no Objection was started, but some discussion ensued, relative to the Property & Effects, including the

Correspondence still deposited in the factory, which, under the usual Exaggeration of unauthorized Report may have led to the Surmizes referred to in your Letter of the 31st of July. Every point was, however, amicably terminated with the Cutch Govt. before Mr. Lovett left that Coast on the further Progress of his Mission to Muscat for a similar Purpose; in both of which Instances, he was acting under our Order not so much on behalf of the Honble Company,as in that of the Mysore Prince, now become their intimate friend & Ally; & not for any purpose of Extention (sic) of power or Influence, but merely for the Security of long-established Commercial Privileges & Rights.

4th.

Every Exertion would have been made towards a seasonable Compliance with your Indents for the Broad Cloth, & other Articles adverted to in your Letter of the 31st of July; but for the unhappy Interruption to the harmony you appear to have so zealously laboured to establish, & should that be again restored, on a desirable footing the objects of Commerce you have indicated will not fail to meet with the readiest attention, particularly as far as regards the Broad Cloth, which we should be much pleased to promote the Vend of, to the greatest possible Extent thro` the Channel of your Residency.

5th.

Your Explanation respecting the horses sent to Surat was unnecessary, but it is particularly satisfactory as to your Conduct, of the purity (sic) of which I am & have always been entirely satisfied.

6th.

As the late re-establishment of the Residency at Sindh took place in pursuance of the Instructions of the most Noble the Governor-General, it is particularly interesting to me, to be able to have the advantage of his Lordships Sentiments on the Extraordinary Events detailed in your Letter of the 26th of August before I communicate the final Instructions of this Presidency as to the Satisfaction to be demanded, on the measures to be pursued in the Event of it's not being rendered, a delay which will be attended with the further advantage of admitting of my hearing from you of the Result of your proposed visit to Hyderabad, without the aid of the Lights to be derived from which no definitive Resolutions ought perhaps to be taken by the Company. Government in the present Instance. It will therefore be in the meanwhile sufficient that I intimate to you my unqualified & cordial approbation of the Line of Conduct you have described it to be your Intention to pursue in discussing with the Princes & their Ministers the Causes of their late flagrant Insult & Injury to the British Name & Interests; in the Course of which or thereafter, I leave to your discretion to make such use of the Communication that my Secretary has made to you under date the Ist of Sept. as you may form a view to local Circumstances deem the very unexpected & altogether slighted and negatived Occurrence, therein narrated, susceptible of; all I need here add, in relation to it being that since the receipt of your Letters, I have directed the Superintendent of Police to endeavor to ascertain the Connection of the Author of the Overture without exciting his alarm as well as to watch his motions so far as to guard against his leaving the island without my knowledge & permission.

7th.

Although I trust you will not be under the necessity or even be in the predicament of finding it, desirable to come down to the Presidency till I can furnish you with more definite Instructions; yet, in the former Case, you have of course my full assent to your departure as desired in your Letter of the 26th of August in which Event, you will no doubt adopt all possible precautions for bringing away with you or otherwise securing the Company's Cash & Merchandize that may be remaining in your hands; but as far as I can judge from the purport of your Communications under date the 30th & 31st of August it seems not impossible, that thro your Attention, Zeal & ability, this transitory Effect of political Jealousy may be converted into an Extension of our Commercial Views, & a Corroboration of our political Influence in Sindh, equally to your own Credit, & the public advantage.

I remain Sir,

Your most Obedient Servant,

(Singed) JONN DUNCAN

Bombay the
20th September, 1800.

From:

Nathan Crow Esquire,
Resident in Sind.

No. 1.

To:

The Honble Jonathan Duncan Esquire,
President and Governor, Bombay.

Honble Sir,

A few days after the date of my last Respects, which was the 31st of August, a Barge arrived from the Prince, for my accomodation up to Hyderabad, and on the 8th Ultimo I embarked for that Place. A favorable Wind aided the Vessel againt the Stream, and on the Afternoon of the 10th we anchored of Meer Ibrahim Shah's House, where, by the Prince's Direction Apartments were prepared for me.

The Public Attentions shewn to me on my arrival were rather redoubled than relaxed and the Second day after I had an audience. When Complimentary Enquiries were concluded I told the Prince "I was sorry he had thought so formal a Summons of me necessary, for, at the slightest Intimation of his Wish to see me up from Currachee, I should have rendered myself at his Presence with equal Alacrity." To which he replied "it was long since I had been with him, and he was desirous to see me." Since I said "He has been pleased to "listen to many representations from others against the"English and their factory, of which I had the Honor of "holding Charge, I hoped that he would grant a not less "patient and

complacent Ear to my vindication of the Subjects. "All I requested was his candid Communication of every doubt "and suspicion, which had been presented to his Mind, and for "being able to give him the fullest satisfaction I could "safely pledge myself." He turned with an Air of Reproach to Meer Gholam Ali Khan said something in Sindee, to which the latter neither replied, by Word nor look and then private Audience should be early and his Communications unreserved. A heavy Storm was coming on and as the Assembly was on a Terrace, the Prince dismissed me with a string of kind assurances and retired. The Brothers hurried to their different Apartments and I mounted my Horse. On my way home I sufffered so severely from the Sudden transition of the Weather that a fever come on, which afflicts me to the present Moment and has unavoidably delayed this Report. From exterior appearances at this first Interview, I could not but he much confirmed in my belief of one of the Representations made me, as communicated in my Address of the 26th July and corroborated by all my succeeding Intercourse, that the Prince was favorable to the Establishment and that Meer Gholam Ali Khan and the other Brothers were the Movers of the Measure of recalling the Currachee Factory.

Meer Gholam Ali Khan complaining of Indisposition, my private Audience, was on that Plea Postponed till the 18th when I attended the Durbar. The Prince opened the Conservation by asking me "if along with his Purwannas I has received "Mirza Ishmael's Letter detailing the Reasons, which had "induced him to summon me from Currachee?' I replied "I had." "In that" said he "is comprized the whole State of the Case I have been worried by Representations against your Nation, and Reports of your Sinister designs here: many of these Representations too from your own Country, India. The

Vizier likewise has been very peremptory and in Cutch you see they would not allow you a footing. Your Trade also comparatively with the Merchants of my Country, Men of small Capitals, is not what should be expected from the name and Character of the Company. In order therefore to silence such disagreable Clamour and to give you an opportunity of confounding its malice I have sent for you from Currachee and by your ready acquiescence in my Summons you have already more than half triumphed over your Enemies. What I have now to desire is, that, for some time, you will confine your Residence to Tatta and after that you may return to Currachee: at present Keep a Man there to take care of your Bungalow. I have the fullest Confidence in the Faith and friendship of the English and consider them welcome to settle in any part of my Country, not excepting Currachee; but a temporary suspension of their factory at that Place is necessary to falsify the Slanders against them, and from their friendship I expect that they will gratify me by complying with it."

This Speech was delivered in a manner as if it proceeded from Constraint than Will and was hurried over as an irksome Task of which the Prince was eager to get rid. He then asked me what I had to say and desired that I would be free and unreserved: I had prepared for the occasion by Minuting the Subject on Paper, from which I began with solemnity to address the Prince, but observing that all the Brothers could not hear the Purport I put the Paper into Mirza Ishmael's Hands, who was more conveniently situated and requested that he would read it with slow audible Tone. The Address was this:

"May it please your Highness! The Hon'ble the Governor deputed me to your presence on the Invitation of your own

Letters and the fullest confidence in them, and He instructed me, at my Departure to regulate Myself and Affairs in a Conformity with your Highnesses Pleasure. By the Grace of God, I have not been guilty of any Transgression of Duty or Respect, that should subject me to the Censure of either Sircar, nor from my Constituents has anything transpired that could give Offence. Out of your special favour you allotted Ground even for my Residence at Currachee and encouraged me at a considerable Expense to erect a Building for the accommodation of myself and Dependents and now without cause or reason, at the Instigation of Malicious People, who in no shape can be your Highnesses Well wishers, You have reconciled to yourself a flagrant Injury to the English, such as they never experienced in any Country before, and notwithstanding their Friendship, Attachment and Innocence, you have inflicted a severe wound on their Fame and Reputation. Your highness has likewise directed that neither Ship nor Englishman come to Currachee: surely if in Bombay and other the Honble Company's Ports they were to say that the Dingeys coming from Sind and Currachee full of desperate Troops Jokeas & c. are a cause of Alarm and that it would be much more satisfactory, that they should discontinue their Importation. `Your Highness would feel deeply hurt and naturally exclaim with Resentment `What Reasons have the English to be suspicious of me that they should forbid my Vessels entering their Ports and disgrace my Name?! I request of your Highness to reverse the case. Your Highness likewise summoned me from Currachee after a loud Publication of the Resolution, whereas had you been pleased to send for me and explained your Highness's Pleasure, I could have moved in such a Manner as would have saved the Interference of subordinate Officers and the foul Remarks of the Throng. Desert or City are the same to me, my Concern always has

been and is to give Satisfaction to your Highness. To whatever your Commands may be, I am now obedient, but in consistency with the Spirit of my Commission and the whole Tenor of my Conduct since my deputation here, namely that of perfecting harmony between your Highness and my Honble Employers, I shall respectfully suggest that if the Friendship of the English be any object in your Highness's Estimation, it will not be derogating from your Honour or justice to administer some Reparation. Which may smooth the asperity of past Circumstances and reconcile to the Honble the Governor (whose friendship will no doubt incline him to meet your Wishes) the present object of your Highness's Mind. This is most likely to be effected by a respectable and speedy Deputation to Bombay, by laying before the Honble the Governor all your Highness's Reasons for wishing the Factory at Currachee to be discontinued, and placing his acquiescence upon the footing of your mutual Friendship. The Termination of this Affair exceeds the Bounds of my Power. I have discharged my Duty by humbly representing what I sincerely believe to be most eligible to the Welfare and Hormony of both States and your Highness's Justice and Wisdom must decide the Rest."

The Prince heared the whole of this address, with great attention and many parts with evident compunction. At the conclusion he said "He did not understand how he had injured the British Nation." "Was it not Injury" I begged to ask "after issuing a formal Grant under his own Hand and Seal, admitting the honble Company's Establishment at Currachee, allotting Ground for the habitation of the Resident and Dependents and confirming Privileges for the trade of the Factory, all of a sudden without one Plea of Justice or even definite pretext, to order it ignominously to be evacuated, to forbid the Entrance

of any British Dependent within the Port and to summon the Resident like a Culprit to leave the place and to repair to Tatta, instantly and through the most inclement weather and difficult Country, without a single Consideration either as to his public or private Convenience or even the State of his health? This would have been harsh treatment to any Stranger residing under his Highness's Protection and was still more so to me, deputed in a Public Capacity on his Highness's Invitation and assurances of Kindness, and it was particularly understand to one who had devoted himself to gain his Highness's Goodwill and to give his Subjects Satisfaction."

The Prince entered into Protestation that he had never issued Orders to the Commandant of Currachee to interfere, in any Shape, and affected great Regret at his Misconduct. He paid every Tribute to my Conciliation and trusted that all Circumstances would be accommodated in a manner increasing the friendship already established for that he should without delay send a respective deputation to you.

I asked the Prince "if I might be permitted to see some of the Correspondence, which so pointedly challenged the Faith of my Nation that it seemed depreciated in his Highness's Eyes." "By all means" said he then hesitating and recollecting himself "Yes let me see oh! (speaking to the Head Moonshee) there is a Viziers Letter, take it to Meer Ibrahim Shah's House in the Morning." The Letter however was never brought but whether by design or omission I am doubtful.

I then begged of the Prince to give me an opportunity of answering any private Slanders. He was aware, I observed that the Merchants were from Interests the inveterate Enemies of the Residency and to these might be added perhaps a few

Servants who had been dismissed from the Factory for Misbehaviour, and would from Resentment every likely speak ill. If there were any Circumstances respecting myself or the Factory which wanted explanation I requested of his Justice that he would now communicate them. He understand too well the authority of such sources as I had mentioned to listen them. He said and was aware of no Circumstance whatever that required any Explanation.

(For the remainder of this letter see duplicate copy extracted from *Home Series Miscellaneous,* Vol. 434.)

(Documents Nos, 2 & 3 already extracted from Ditto).

No. 4.

LETTERS to the Custom Masters at Bombay and Surat dated the 18th of November 1800 from the Honble the Governor's Private Secretary.

The Honble the Governor is pleased to direct, that you ascertain for him and report what may be the usual course of commerce between Bombay and Currachee, and the other Ports of Sind and how the balance of Trade lies, i.e. whether in favor of, or against Bombay.

I have the honour to be & ca.

(Signed) J. A. Grant

P. Secretary.

No. 5.

EXTRACT of a Letter from the Honble Jonathan Duncan Governor of Bombay to the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley Governor General.

Dated 19th November 1800

I am sorry to have to forward the Letter and accompaniments just received from Mr. Crow, advising of our ultimate Expulsion from Sind, by the Express order, as alleged of Zemaun Shah.

I likewise transmit the copy of a farther Petition, lately presented to me, in very imperfect broken English, by Khemjee, the person who came forward with the suggestion, relative to Sind, as first adverted to, in my address to your Lordship of the 3rd of September, and again noticed in my Private Secretary. Mr. Grant's Letter, to Colonel Kirkpatrick of the 19th of the month: the present Production so far tending to account for this Man's desire to excite us against that Country; as to which it is, also, most certain, that he never had, directly nor indirectly, the Slightest Encouragement from me or room to form the most distant hope; neither would it, from his father Examination of today, appear that he had held any Correspondence with the People in Sind, on the Subject, but had, merely, been actuated by Motives of Resentment, and thro' views of personal advantage, in finding Employment, as he says, under us, to present his first Petition; which your Lordship will observe to be both dated, and received here posterior, by some time, to the using of Meer Futteh Ali's first

mandate for the abolition of Currachee factory; beyond which Circumstance Nothing is necessary to Shew, that what thus took place at Bombay could not have influenced that Transaction; as the same time; that it seems not, on the whole, improbable, that the Rulers of Sind may have been alarmed as they pretend, as well by the late general rapid Spread if (sic) the British Influence in India as perhaps, also, by the interested Insinuations among the Body of Indian Merchants at Currachee, who seems to have dreaded, and to have done all in their power to Counteract our Establishment in that quarter.

However this may be, I trust your Lordship will approve of the letter (as per translated Copy enclosed) I have written on this Occasion to Meh'di Ali Khan, the resident at Bushire; the more especially, as it will not prevent the adopting of such other intermediate Means, as the Deliberations of this Government, or your Lordship's Instructions may lead to; and we shall thus Secure one additional means of getting fully at the foundation of an Occurrence as unlooked for, as it Seems still enveloped in respect to some of it's leading Circumstances in a degree of Mystery, which it cannot for the sake of Truth, and Justice, but be interesting. thoroughly, to dispel.

Meanwhile, it occurs to me, that a Prohibition of all trade and Commerce with Sind in our Ports, and this Side of India may be, with Safety, immediately adopted, accompanied with the farther measure of detaining whatever Sindian Boats, or Vessels or Merchandize may be found in our harbour either here or at Surat, by way of Securing so far our Indemnification, for the Losses to the Company, that Mr. Crow's Abrupt Expulsion can, hardly, fail, in Some degree, to Occasion; all which will be determined on, in a Council, which

I have summoned today for the consideration of this, and other Subjects.

A True Extract,

(Signed) J.A. Grant,
P. Secretary.

No. 6.

Letter to the Resident in Sind dated 1st September 1800.

1. I am directed by the Honble the Governor to furnish you with the enclosed Copy of a representation delivered in under this date by a Person Styling himself Bhatia Kimjee Doongersey, and to advise that the proposal he appeared to have to make was, that the Company should make themselves Masters of Sind, as all the People were, he said, tired of the Tyranny, they laboured under, and would readily join us & ca.

2d. To this Suggestion, the Honble the Governor immediately answered, that we were in Amity with the Princes of Sind, and had no other than Commercial Views in that Country.

3d. This will be forwarded to you by Sea, in the Course of the present or ensuing Month, or as Soon as an Opportunity offers for conveying it to Currachee.

I have the honour to be & ca.

(Signed) J. A. Grant

P. Secretary.

Bombay Castle
1st September, 1800.

A True Copy

(Signed) J. A. Grant
P. Secretary.

No. 7.

PETITION from Kimjee Doongersey Bhatia dated 26th August, 1800.

Received 1st September 1800

To:

The Honble Jonathan Duncan Esquire,
President & Governor & ca, in Bombay.

The humble Information of Bhatia Kimjee Doongersey-Humble Sheweth unto yr. Honour.

That your Petitioner 15 or 20 days ago arrived at this Presidency from Scindey: Your Petitioner being in possession of Certain Intelligence, which your Petitioner could not write to your Honour, nor even discover to any body else, or do otherwise than relate to your Honor, face to face, and the Intelligence being of great Moment and Consequence.

Your Petitioner, therefore, humble prays your Honor will direct your petitioner to attend to tell your Honor when at leisure, because the Intelligence which your Petitioner has to give your Honour is of Consequence and on grant of his humble request.

Your Petitioner Shall ever pray.

BHATIA KIMJEE DOONGERSEY

QUESTIONS put to Kimjee Doongersey and his Replies thereto, on the 18th November 1800.

Qn. Who wrote the first Petition that you presented to me on the 1st September?

Ar. The Son of Bharker called Ramchunder living near the Washerman's Tank.

Qn. In what month did you get the Petition written and when did you arrive here?

Ar. I arrived here in the Month of Phaug 10 or 12 days before the Hooly festival- and Three days after your departure I applied to Ramchunder to draw out the Petition-When Ramchunder told me you were gone to Surat - I returned to my house.

Qn. When did you again apply to Ramchunder to draw out the Petition?

Ar. About 6 or 8 days after your Arrival - and he wrote out the Petition the same day - and delivered it to me for which I gave him half a Rupee.

Qn. Who directed you to apply to Ramchunder to draw up your Petiton?

Ar. I applied to the Purvoe at the Mandavie who gives Pass Notes and told him I had a Petition to draw to your address - he told me to apply to Ramchunder - Saying also that he had nothing to do, but draw up Pass Notes, and receive his Pice and that Ramchunder lived near the Washerman's Tank.

Qn. When did you apply to the Purvoe who directed you to go to Ramchunder; before or after the Hooly festival?

Ar. After the Hooly festival, about 20 days or a month thereafter.

Qn. You have written in your Petition that you had certain Intelligence of Consequence to import to me personally, What is the Information you wished to convey?

Ar. My only desire is to be in the Company's Service and give them all the Information in my power - the People being disgusted with the Princes of Sind would certainly join the English if they wished to make themselves Masters of that Country and the Ryets are continually praying that the British Government may be established there.

Qn. Where is your Native Country and where do you at present reside?

Ar: I was at Shah Bunder and have left that place with my family these 2 years and 7/1/2 months, and taken up my Residence at Lukpul Bunder in the Country of Cutch.

Qn. Since you have not been yourself in Sind so long a Time, how came you to be able to pronounce on the dispositions of the people there against their own Sovereign and in favour of the Company?

Ar. From having suffered myself by the Cruelty of the Prince of Sind; and from the People that desert from thence, I am inclined to believe that the English Government would be very acceptable there.

Qn. How came you to State in your Petition that you arrived here only 20 days before the date of your Petition, whereas you now mention that you arrived here in the month of Phaug which is 3 or 4 months before?

Ar. It must have been a mistake in the Writer of the petition from Misunderstanding me.

Qn. Tell trully with whom you have corresponded either by writing or verbally on the Subject of your Petition?

Ar. I never did correspond with any person on the Subject and if ever it can be proved that I did so, I shall be guilty.

Qn. What is it that inspired you with the Idea of coming to me to propose the taking of Sind - did you ever hear that it would be agreeable to the English to have Sind as their own?

Ar. I was Solely instigated by private Resentment for my own Suffering - which made me desirous of finding a Superior Power to overcome my Enemy.

Qn. What Injury did Futteh Ali Khan do to you?

Ar. The Prince of Sind exacts half the produce of the Soil and obliges the Merchants to take that half at the Price he pleases, which they not being able to dispose of so advantageously incur a great loss; should they refuse to take what is offered them by the Prince of Sind they are immediately made Mussulmans of, and this induce me to leave Shahbunder on pretence of visiting religious places, and to take up my Residence at Lukpul Bunder in Kutch - it was to avoid farther oppression of the same Kind, that I came away.

Qn. Did you ever impart anything to the Purvoe that wrote the Petition as to what you wished to mention verbally to me?

Ar. No. I only desired him to insert that I would answer all such questions as might be put to me, or words to that Effect.

Qn. You presented another Petition to me, some days ago; pray who wrote that, the Same man or another and what is his Name?

Ar. Pandoorung Purvoe, that is employed by Mr. Halliday.

Qn. Do you remember what is written in the Petition last presented?

Ar. To the same Effect as before, only with some Account of the former Revolutions of Sind, showing how, after the death of Meer Gholam Shah of the former Dynasty of Sind, and the Succession of Seerferaz Khan, his Son, troubles ensued between this Latter and the Talpoory Race, which ended in their gaining the Dominion.

No. 9.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from the Governor of Bombay to Mehdy Ali Khan - Resident at Bushire.

As it appears from your late letters in the Commercial Department that you possess some Influence and Acquaintance in the Country of Sind, and with its Ruler Meer Futteh Ali Khan I have, therefore, to inform you,, that, after our Obtaining the Settlement of two Factories there, one at Tatta and one at the Port of Currachee, or Caranchee, both in said Futteh Ali (Khan); the latter has unexpectedly removed both those Factories, and even expelled Mr. Crow, the Gentleman who was in charge of them; in the manner which will appear to you, from the enclosed Copy of two Persian papers herewith forwarded. Deeming it to be - under the Circumstances, essentially necessary to ascertain thoroughly the real Causes of these highly improper Events and the Grounds and Motives for such breach of faith and Engagement of the part of the Hakim of Sind, you are desired to proceed in the manner you shall Judge best adapted to the Case to endeavour to get at the Bottom of this Transaction; since admitting the final Expulsion of Mr. Crow to have taken place in pursuance of the mandate of Zemaun Shah; Still, this was not the first Cause of the Misunderstanding, respecting our factory, that Seems to have

been imbibed by Futteh Ali Khan, the Origin of which is ascribed to the Suspicions, they entertained of our Supposed Intentions to make ourselves masters of Caranchee, as is pretended to have been most erroneously written to them, thro' the Channel of some Correspondence, verbal or by Letter, from India, in so much that on the 12th of August of the present year, they issued a Purwanna requiring the Abolition of the factory at Currachee and that our Resident's Abode should be fixed at Tatta; after which Mr. Crow proceeded to Hyderabad the Capital at the Invitation of Futteh Ali Khan, who seems to have been ashmed of the precipitancy of his own Conduct, and, there some friendly discussions are Stated to have ensued, with Futteh Ali and his 2 Brothers, who altogether constituted a Kind of Joint Administration, such as even pretended the restoration of the Caranchee factory; but Mr. Crow having been reduced to a State of the greatest helplessness, by the Severity of a fever, with which he was seized, left Hyderabad and returned to Tatta, where, for a certain number of days, he remained confined to his house, when he received the Perwanna of which a Copy is herewith sent together with the letter (whereof a Transcript is likewise forwarded for your Information) from Meer Mussiehez-Zemaun, the Son of Meer Ibrahim Shah, the Vizier, in pursuance of which, I daily look for Mr. Crow's Arrival; but it is impossible, that as a nation, we can overlook what has thus passed, and if it please God, these Short Sighted managers of Sind shall soon witness the deserts of their Actions; unless in as far, perhaps, as thro' you, or from their own reflections, in inducing them to ask for giveness they may derive a degree of forbearance, which cannot otherwise be their Lot: upon the Receipt, therefore, of this Letter, it is proper, that you deliberate on a concert the best means of deputing a person of Confidence, on your own part, by the way of the Fort of

Caranchee to Hyderabad, reporting to me his Name, and his Instructions, to the end, that, arriving there, with as little delay as possible, he may investigate these by-past extraordinary Occurrences; being particularly careful, not to acknowledge, that he is anywise employed on the part of the English, though if he sees it locally adviseable, he may say that he has been sent on your part, on certain private Business of your own, in the Course of which - if he perceives the greatest advantage in this further disclosure, he may also, intimate that hopes may be entertained, upon the foundation of your close connection with the English, that thro' your mediation, the highly exceptionable acts of Futteh Ali Khan and his Brothers may thro' your Intercession in their favour on their earnest Entreaties to that Effect, in a certain time overlooked and forgiven.

Your Successes, and the Ability you have on many Occasions evinced, not only at Benares but since at Muscat and in Persia encourage me in the Belief that you will also happily terminate this most disagreeable Occurrence to the honour of the English Name, and the Improvement of it's Interest.

Dated 18th November 1800.

(Document No. 10 has been copied from Home Series, Miscellaneous, Vol. 434).

No. 11.

Letter to the Governor-General at Fort William, dated 21st November 1800 from the Governor of Bombay.

My Lord,

As a sequel to my Letter to your Lordship of the 19th instant, on the Affairs of Sind, I have the honour to forward the Copy of a further address from Crow under date 7th instant.

I have the honour to be, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedt. hble, Servt.

(Sd.) J. DUNCAN.

Bombay Castle
21st November 1800.

A True Copy

(Sd.) J.A. Grant
P. Secretary.

No. 12.

Letter to the Custom Masters at Bombay and Surat dated 21st November 1800.

The Honble, the Governor directs me to convey his desire, that you procrastinate through the plea of official Delays the Departure of any Boats or vessels for Sind, without laying a formal embargo on them, until further orders; Keeping at the same time, a separate account of all Imports from thence, & endeavouring to ascertain whether there be any part there of property of the Government of that Country, and, if so, to report its description, and amount without delay.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most Obedient Humble Servant

(Sd.) J. A. GRANT
P. Secretary.

Bombay Castle
21st November, 1800.

N. B. The smae to the Custom Master at Surat.

A True Copy

(Sd.) J.A. Grant
P. Secretary.

No. 13.

Letter from the Custom Master at Bombay, dated 21st November, 1800.

I have just received your order and shall obey the Direction therein contained as far as relates to my Department, but as the Boats & Vessels you describe may, in the night time or even day time, take up their anchor & sail without it being in the Power of my People to prevent them, it perhaps would be adviseable to give some order to the vessels at the mouth of the Harbour to prevent their passing without being furnished with a Certificate that they have permission to leave this Port.

Two Dingueys have this day imported from Sind, their Cargoes consigned upon Ramdass, but which I learn is private Property: upon a Reference to the Map I observe Sonymeany is not far distant from Currachee, but am given to understand it is under another Government, from that of the latter. I beg the Governor's direction respecting vessels importing from Sonymeany.

I am Sir,

Your Obedient Servant

(Sd.) P.S. MAISTER
Custom Master.

Custom House
21st November, 1800.

A True Copy

(Sd.) J.A. Grant

P. Secretary.

No. 14.

Letter to the Custom Master at Bombay dated 22nd November 1800.

In amswer to your Letter of yesterday the Honble the Governor directs me to acquaint you, that Boats or Vessels, importing from Sonymeany should not be at all impeded.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant

(Signed) J.A. GRANT
P. Secy.

Bombay Castle,
22nd November, 1800

A True Copy

(Sd.) J.A. Grant
P. Secy.

No. 15.

Letter from the Post Master at Surat 21st November 1800 to the Governor of Bombay.

Honble Sir,

I lose not a moment in forwarding the enclosed from Mr. Crow Resident at Sind received here express about an Hour ago.

The Cossids who brought it were desired by Mr. Crow to inform me to stop all Despatches for him which might pass this Route as the Bearers of them, of whatever description, would be exposed to be plundered, perhaps worse, by the People of Sind.

They further informed me that about Seven Weeks since the Honble. Compay's Factory at Currachee Bunder has been attacked & pillaged with the knowledge & by Orders of the presence, that two of the factory Sipahs had been wounded in defending it, & that Mr. Crow was going immediately to Bombay. This last Circumstance is mentioned by Mr. Crow, but he does not say anything of the other Events which induces a hope that altho' something may have occured, that it is not so unfortunate as they depict it.

I have the honour to be, Honble Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) JOHN CHURCH
Post Master

Surat
21st November,
Noon.

(No. 16 has been copied from *Home Series, Miscellaneous,* Vol. 434.)

No. 17.

Letter to the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley, dated 25th November, 1800, from the Governor of Bombay.

My Lord,

I have the honour to forward to your Lordship the Copy of a letter from the Post Master at Surat, under date the 21st instant, accompanied by a further dispatch from the late Resident in Sind of the 31st ultimo, as per transcript thereof herewith, also, transmitted.

I have the honour to be, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most Obedt. humble Servant

(Signed) JONN DUNCAN

Bombay Castle
25th November 1800.

A True Copy

(Signed) J.A. Grant.

No. 18.

Extract from the proceedings of the Honble the Governor in Council of Bombay dated the 28th November 1800.

In consideration of the whole of the preceding correspondence the Board entirely approves of the President's proceedings, as therein set forth, and of the order issued by the Governor, through his private Secretary, to the Custom Masters at Bombay, and Surat, relative to the trade with Sind; reserving a more formal and official repetition, until the Arrival of the Resident Mr. Crow, who may be now daily expected.

True extracts and copies

J.A. Grant
P. Secy.

(Endorsed)
Numbers 1 to 18.

Proceedings on the subject of the Honble Company's late Residency in Sind.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from Mehedi Ali Khan, of the 29th of January, & received at Bombay on the 5th of April, per Shannon.

My leave of Audience from the presence of his Majesty took place in the following manner; five pieces of choice apparel, and 16 half pieces, and 4 whole pieces of Gold-woven Cloth of the Manufacture of Ispahan, together with one horse with Gold furniture were bestowed on me; these were sent also

for the Servants along with me, 300 Ashrufies of the Royal Mint weighing each 1/1/3 Miscal, so that of 92 persons that were of my Retinue, Natives of India, Persians, and English Sepoys, each received 3 Ashrufies with five to the havildar.

For you, there were assigned one horse, and 1 Sword, the point of the Scabbard of which was studded with Jewels, together with a Khunjier, all over Similarly ornamented and five pieces of fine Cloth.

And for the English Sircar, and Sovereign five horses and 3 Camels, with double humps, and 3 Carpets, and fifty pieces of Gold woven Stuff but how much so ever I endevoured to represent that the Company was different from the King, no one understood the Distinction, till, at length, his Majesty observed, that he was King of a Country who levied its Revenue, and the letter to the Company was accordingly decorated with Royal Titles, at the Same time,that neither to them nor to the King of Great Britain are their own direct Appellatives used, but very becoming Titles are given to each; but as you were to be addressed with the Same, as are used towards the Pasha of Baghdad when his Majesty writes a Firmaun to him, I objected, desiring either, that a Courteous Letter might be written or Nothing which ended in a friendly communication, to this effect, being made.

All the presents and Letters were to accompany his Ambassador, Hajy Kheleel, who has now the Title of Hajy Abdul Kheleel Khan, when just at this time Intelligence reached the Royal Ear from Ispahan, of which the following is the Substance; that, according to Letters from Mussulipatam and Calcutta, I had probably been only Sent by you as Governor of Bombay, and that the King of Great Britain had

sent Orders to the Right Honble the Governor-General to depute another person on his Lordship's own part, with presents to the amount of forty Lacs of Rupees, `that accordingly an Englishman had set out with these valuables, and that by his Lordship's Command, Meer Allum, the Vakeel of Nazam Ali Khan of the Decan, had written a Letter in recommendation of the said English Ambassador to Hajy Kheleel. His Majesty was accordingly pleased to Send to me his first Minister, Hajy Ibraheem Khan to enquire how this matter really stood? Where unto 1 replied that, Since thro' me union and perfect concord has taken place between the two Governments, and that in the meanwhile two glorious occasions, of Public triumph had occured to the English State, one in the overthrow and death of Tippoo Sultan, and the other in the total discumfiture of the French at Acra, in the Province of Syria, it seemed probable that, thereon as well as for of acknowledging the gracious reception I, one of the least of the Servants of the English State, had been honored with, by his Majesty, it had occurred to his Lordship to dispatch an English Gentleman from among those of high rank, professing myself to be, for the rest, ignorant of any order from Europe, and uniformed as to the Amount of the presents, with which answer the vizier returned. In the afternoon of the same day, a Letter arrived from the Gomashta of the factory of Bushire, and also, from Gombroon, with intelligence of the King's Ship having been burnt, which disturbed me more than I can express, bewailing the youth and gallantry of Captain Rowe; but being helpless, I repaired the next Morning to the presence of his Majesty, where I represented the bad qualities of the French, who had murdered their Sovereign, and by deluding the lower class of their own people, aimed at Subverting Political Society in general and oversetting every Sovereignty, observing that, in this pursuit they had already reduced some of the Turkish

Provinces and were now meditating to come on the Persia, and were approaching it's Sea Ports; for that, as the power of the English Kept them out of India, they therefore had turned their views to Persia; by aid of which discourse, I obtained firmaun to have all Frenchmen confined wherever found, either on shore or at Sea,within the Persian limits, as will appear by the one addressed to the proper Officer at Gombroon, which I have enclosed in a Letter to his Lordship.

Respecting the Articles of which consisted Tippoo's Peishkush, or offering to His Majesty, since your orders have been received not to oppose, but even to be attentive, and assisting to them, so as that they may reach back to their own Country; I therefore said nothing on this Subject to his Majesty, and they have delivered their Peishkush. The Letters they brought with them being merely Stuffed with invective against the English, and treating of entering into a War with them, in the way of the Lord, nor do the requisitions I had formerly heard of appear to be made.

I formerly, also, had the pleasure of writing to you that no mention had, in any wise, intervened, as to the expense of the outfit of the Prince Mehmood, nor has a Single Rupee been paid in Cash, but the Article, which were brought from Bussora, Bushire and Ispahan, I parted with the more liberally in view to my doing so being as it were in Comparison with the gifts of Tippoo's Agents - wherefore, without consideration to the expenditure, and in view to the renown of the British Government, I bestowed on all the Nobles, and Principal Courtiers (sic) something by way of gift, or Keepsake, and thereby induced a favourable disposition in them towards our Government, whether you reimburse me or not, the amount of this extra charge according to account.

Having, moreover, been in all respects greatly distinguished by his Majesty's Royal favour he gave me leave to depart, and appointed a Mehmaundar to accompany me and issued a firman to Tooliman, the Pasha of Baghdad, to Signify that the Nawab (meaning me) being his guest, the Pasha was, to the extremity of his bounds, to exercise the duties of regard and hospitality towards me, and having afterwards called Hajy

Kheleel into his presence, that person was instructed to proceed by the way of Ispahan to Bushire, where having made a provision of the Gold-woven Stuffs of that Town he may proceed therewith to Abusheher, where if up to the Month of Zilheje, by which he would arrive with the horeses at Abusheher, the Embassador (sic) Captain Malcolm, should have arrived within the bounds of Persia, Hajy Kheleel should also await that Gentleman's audience of leave, when, together with answers to both the sets of Letters, that is, to those brought by me, and those brought by Captain Malcolm, Hajy Kheleel might proceed to India with me, and the Gentlemen aforesaid; but if Captain Malcolm should not arrive before the end of Zelheje, then Hajy Kheleel is on the 1st of Moherrem to set out with me for India, and accordingly, Hajy Kheleel proceeds by the way of Ispahan to Bushire, I am on my route thither by the way of Baghdad; and this Arzee is written from Kirman Shah, which is Ten days journey from Baghdad, and will be forwarded to you by that City and by Bussora, to the end that nothing may remain unknown to you.

A True Copy,

J.A. Grant,
Sub. Secy. to Gt.

(Endorsed)

No. 2.

Recd. Overland 14 Aug 1800.

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